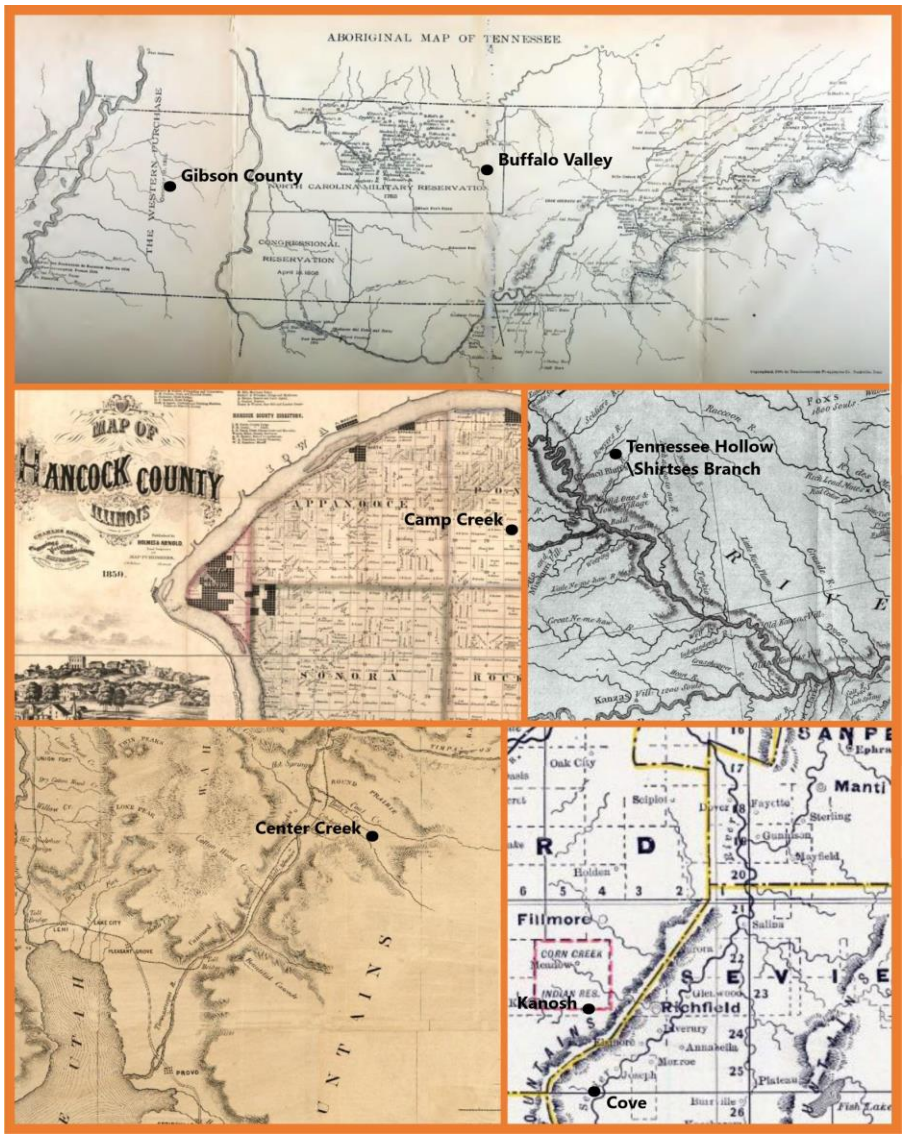

THE THOMAS ROSS FAMILY AND THE GIBSON COUNTY MORMONS

ABSTRACT

Four intermarried families become Mormons and help to build at least seven new communities in the wilderness.

Kim Bateman

Spring City, Utah, February 2024

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Introduction

This is the story of four pioneer families from Gibson County Tennessee: the Rosses, Smiths, Cummings, and Youngs. Although they all crossed the plains to Utah as typical Mormon pioneers, they began their pioneering long before the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was organized. The Youngs and Smiths had been early settlers in the Holsten Valley of eastern Tennessee when it was still a part of North Carolina. William Young's grandfather, Bazel Boren was one of forty men in Daniel Boone's company when Indians killed Boone's son and five others in Powell's Valley in 1773. William Franklin Love, the father of Margaret Love Smith, was the first to settle in Love's Valley in Middle Tennessee, a few miles from Buffalo Valley, where the Young family were the first settlers.

Around 1820 the former Chickasaw hunting grounds in western Tennessee were opened to settlement after they were bought by Andrew Jackson and a partner as a real estate investment. This new land opportunity brought together our four families as original settlers in the newly created Gibson County, and they lived in the neighborhood of Davy Crockett. About two decades later, Mormon missionaries came to Gibson County and converted most of the members of these four families, who had already begun to intermarry. A branch of the Church sprang up as the families converted and continued to marry each other there until Joseph Smith sent out the call for all scattered members to join him in his new city of Nauvoo.

The members of all four families gradually moved together or separately over the next decade with the Mormon migrations, some living in Nauvoo, Winter Quarters, and Salt Lake City, but most of them staying together and pioneering new communities along the way.

It is a complex story to tell.

Fifteen members of the Ross family married into the other three Gibson County families in our story and so did twenty-nine of the Smiths, six of the Youngs, and two of the Cummings. Members of the four families were original settlers of Camp Creek near Nauvoo, Tennessee Hollow in Iowa, and Heber, Center Creek, Fillmore, Washington, and Pahreah in Utah. And in locations where they weren't the *original* settlers, they joined the original settlers within a year to settle Provo, Kanosh, Sevier, Joseph, and Wellington.

Many biographies and family stories have been written by the descendants of these families. It is an embarrassment of riches—every family and most individuals have had their own story told and retold. In preparation for this work, I have read as many as I could find and also the stories of their neighbors and associates. These have provided valuable information to inform this project, but there are also many gaps, contradictions, and inaccuracies in the stories, some of which can be corrected and put into context by comparing them to each other and to the contemporary history of the locations and of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. My aims are first to combine the stories to explain and conform to the available church and secular histories of each location and second, to resolve the inconsistencies, contradictions, and gaps in the family legends. Third, I hope to produce new facts and theories, hopefully clearly labeled and traceable, to round out this epic story.

Since I am a descendant of the Ross and Smith families, I have placed more emphasis on them, with a special focus on Nancy Jane Ross and her husband Albert Eals McMullin, the grandparents of my paternal grandmother.

Most of my readers will probably also be descendants of the four Gibson County families, who fall into one of three categories: people who just want to learn the story of their ancestors, amateur genealogists who want to improve the accuracy of their family trees, and serious researchers of genealogy or history, who are deeply concerned with details and facts. To address all three audiences, I have made extensive use of footnotes, which I hope the casual reader will feel comfortable to ignore but will satisfy the academic reader. While I have corrected some of the errors and omissions of earlier writings, I have no doubt introduced some of my own, which I hope you will forgive and help me to correct.

I am amazed by the lives of these people and gratified by the writing of their descendants which has made my work possible. Thanks especially to Beth McMullin for her book, *The McMullin Story*, to Rebecca Freeman for *Footprints in Time, A History of John Whitlock Radford and Rachel Leah Smith and their Families*, to Gary Dean Young for *Life and Times of William Alma Young, Tennessee Frontiersman, Utah Pioneer*, to William James Mortimer, *How Beautiful upon the Mountains*, to the many other historians of the various counties in which the four families have lived, the characters in this book who have written their own autobiographies, to their descendants who wrote the histories of their ancestors, and to the many people who work together to make *FamilySearch* the grand wiki-project that it is designed to be: to illuminate the life of every person who has ever lived. Thanks also to my wife, Linda, for her patience with me and for her invaluable proofreading.

Thank you for reading. I hope you enjoy it as much as I have.

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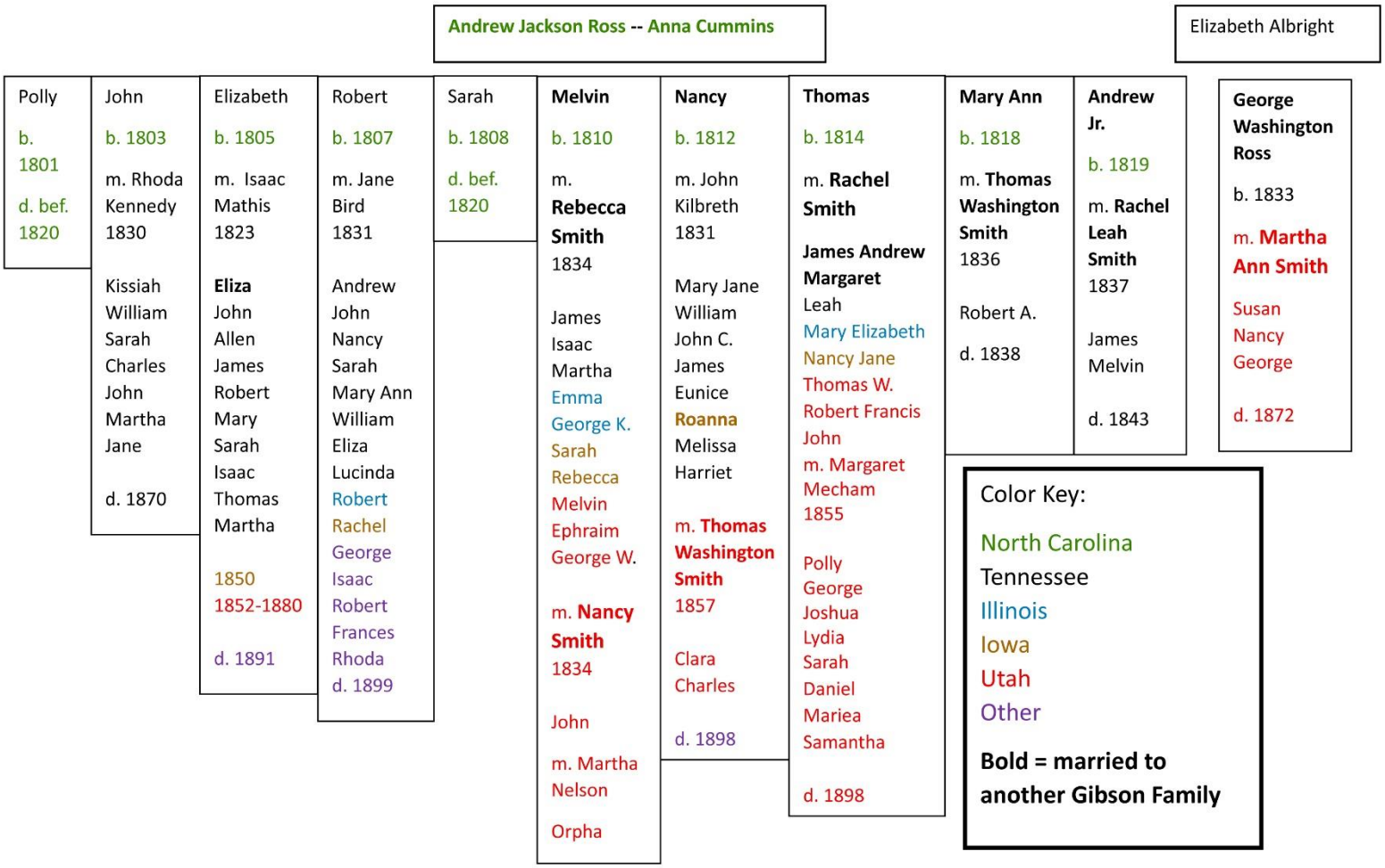
Figures


Andrew Jackson Ross -- Anna Cummins
Elizabeth Albright
Polly
b. 1801
d. bef. 1820
John
b. 1803
m. Rhoda Kennedy 1830
Kissiah
William
Sarah
Charles
John
Martha
Jane
d. 1870
Elizabeth
b. 1805
m. Isaac Mathis 1823
Eliza
John
Allen
James
Robert
Mary
Sarah
Isaac
Thomas
Martha
1850
1852-1880
d. 1891
Robert
b. 1807
m. Jane Bird 1831
Andrew
John
Nancy
Sarah
Mary Ann
William
Eliza
Lucinda
Robert
Rachel
George
Isaac
Robert
Frances
Rhoda
d. 1899
Sarah
b. 1808
d. bef. 1820
Melvin
b. 1810
m. Rebecca Smith 1834
James
Isaac
Martha
Emma
George K.
Sarah
Rebecca
Melvin
Ephraim
George W.
m. Nancy Smith 1834
John
m. Martha Nelson
Orpha
Nancy
b. 1812
m. John Kilbreth 1831
Mary Jane
William
John C.
James
Eunice
Roanna
Melissa
Harriet
m. Thomas Washington Smith 1857
Clara
Charles
d. 1898
Thomas
b. 1814
m. Rachel Smith
James Andrew
Margaret
Leah
Mary Elizabeth
Nancy Jane
Thomas W.
Robert Francis
John
m. Margaret Mecham 1855
Polly
George
Joshua
Lydia
Sarah
Daniel
Mariea
Samantha
d. 1898
Mary Ann
b. 1818
m. Thomas Washington Smith 1836
Robert A.
d. 1838
Andrew Jr.
b. 1819
m. Rachel Leah Smith 1837
James
Melvin
d. 1843
George Washington Ross
b. 1833
m. Martha Ann Smith
Susan
Nancy
George
d. 1872
Color Key:
North Carolina
Tennessee
Illinois
Iowa
Utah
Other
Bold = married to another Gibson Family

James A. Smith – Margaret Love

Leah

b. 1810

m. **William Young**

Willis
James
Ethalinda
Polly
William
Rachel
Squire
Harriet
Francis
William
Leah
Susan

d. 1897

Rachel

b. 1813

m. **Andrew**

Margaret
Leah
Mary
Nancy Jane
Thomas W.
Robert
John

d. 1901

Thomas Washington

b. 1815

m. **Mary Ann Ross**
1846

Robert Adam

m. **Sarah Ann Boren**
1842

Mary Ann
Margaret
Joseph
Carrel
Thomas
Leah
George
Samuel
Elias
Tabitha

m. **Susan Reynolds**
1848

Sarah
Martha
James
Nancy
Cynthia

m. **Nancy Ross**
1857

Charles
Clara

William W.

b. 1819

m. **Eliza Mathis**

1842

Margaret
William
Emily
James
Isaac
Eliza
Tabitha
Thomas
John
Sarah
Leah
Tabitha

d. 1887

Robert Love

b. 1819

m. Elizabeth Ann Carroll
1841

Martha
William
Thomas
Mary
Samuel
James
Ohio Belle

d. 1888

Samuel

b. 1819

m. Mary Maxwell

1858

James
Vanerveri
Walter
Stephen
Elizabeth
Thomas

d. 1913

William F.

b. 1830

d. 1884

Robin

b. 1830

m. Elizabeth Carrol

Color Key:

North Carolina
Tennessee
Illinois
Iowa
Utah
Other

Bold = married to another Gibson Family

Richard Smith – Dianna Braswell

Rebecca
b. 1818
m. **Melvin Ross** 1834
James J.
Isaac
Martha
Emma
George
Sarah
Rebecca
Melvin
Ephraim
George
d. 1896

Phillip
b. 1821
m. Eliza Frampton 1849
David
Richard
Phillip
Melvin
Melissa
Eliza
Sarah
Fannie
Ida
Viola
Alonzo
Adelbert
Effie
Charles
d. 1912

Rachel Leah
b. 1822
m. **Andrew Jackson Ross** 1837
James
Melvin
m. John Whitlock Radford 1846
Nancy
Catherine
John
Francis
Leah
Granville
Daniel
Dianah
Malissa
Estella
d. 1895

John
b. 1824
m. Frances Clark 1826
Elizabeth
Mary
Ellen
Richard
Nancy
William
James
Sarah
Ora
d. 1864

Thomas
b. 1826
m. Sarah Ann Frampton 1850
Mary
John
Sarah
Amanda
Ann
Lenora
Martha
Eliza
Dempsey
Thomas
James
d. 1899

James Agee
b. 1829
m. Sarah Jane Duke 1851
James
John
Sarah
Maria
Richard
Almira
Diana
Olive
Nellie
m. Christiana Penrod 1842
John
Christeena
Richard
David
Joseph
James
Abraham
Temperance
Thomas
Minerva
Leo Earl
d. 1902

William
b.1831
m. Polly Perry 1850
William
Mary
Sarah
James
Flora
Henrietta
Lucy
George
(and 3 more)
m. Mary Davis 1860
Julia
William
Joseph
Rachel
John
Thomas
George
(and 5more)
d. 1911

Ephraim
b. 1833
m. Nancy Bethers 1837
David
Ester
Millie
Joseph
William
James
Sarah
Thomas
Agnes
Elizabeth
Phoebe
Mary
George
d. 1898

Nancy
b. 1835
m. **Melvin Ross** 1852
John T.
d. 1853

Adam
b. 1837
d. before 1850

Sarah Ann
b. 1838
m. **James Andrew Ross** 1857
d. 1879

Newell
b. 1840
d. before 1850

Elizabeth Jane
b. 1842
d. 1843

Color Key:
North Carolina
Tennessee
Illinois
Iowa
Utah
Other
Bold = married to another Gibson Family

John Cummings – Rachel Canady

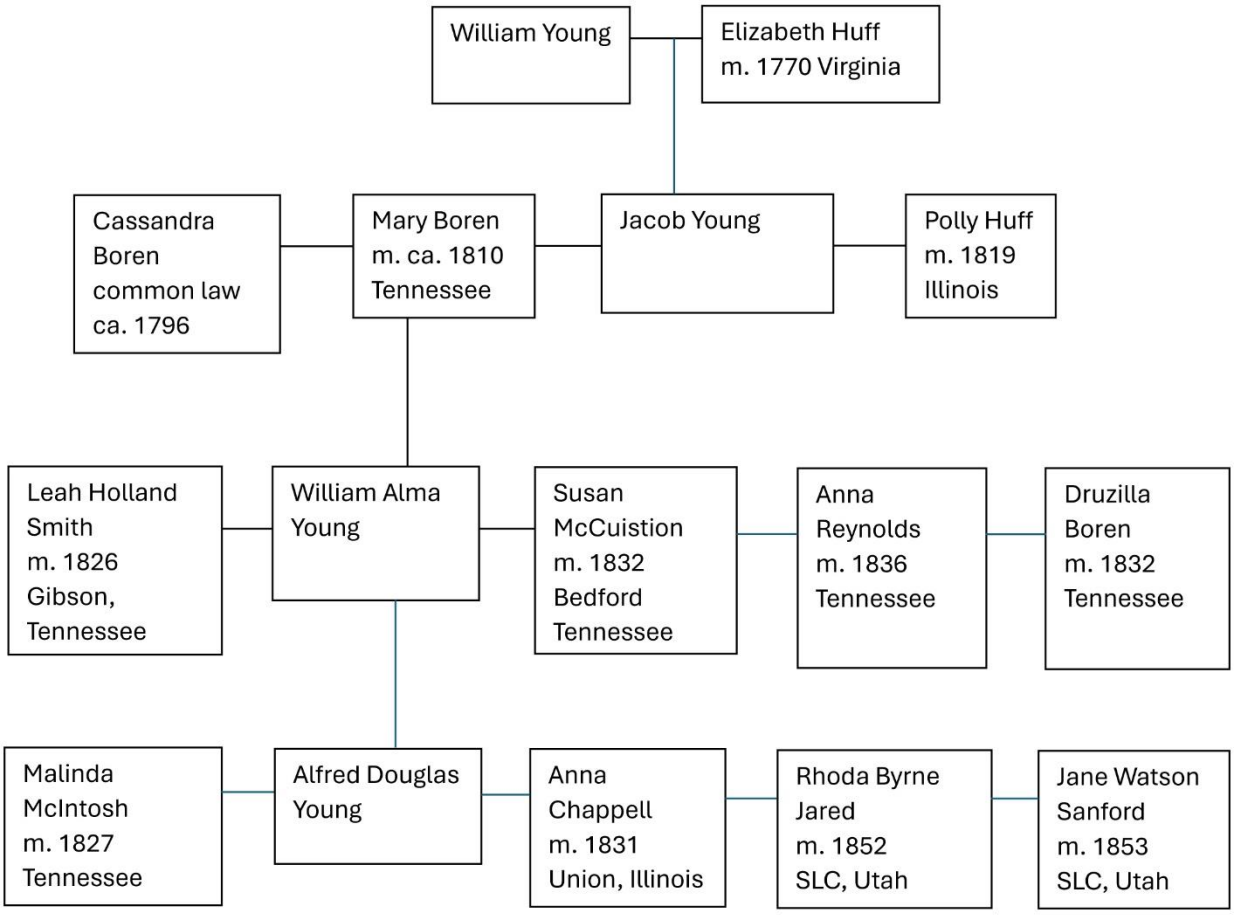
Mary Jane	William	Isaac	Sarah Ann	**Melinda**	Nancy	John	Harmon	Thomas	Joseph
b. 1833	b. 1835	b. 1837	b. 1839	b. 1841	b. 1843	b. 1846	b. 1850	b. 1852	b. 1859
m. Richard Jones 1855	m. Mary Ann Meeks 1861	m. Sarah Jones 1860	m. Elisha Jones 1856	m. **James Andrew Ross** 1857	m. Joseph McDonald 1863	m. Johanna Johanson 1865	m. Isabella Dayton 1872	d. 1852	d. 1872
Richard	William	Isaac	Hyrum	m. Jacob Baum 1864	Sarah	Louisa	Florinda		
John	Mary	Elisha	Samuel	Rachel	Joseph	Louis	Melinda		
Elisha	John	Rachel	Rachel	Thomas	Rachel	Hannah	Harmon		
Edward	Rachel	Rebecca	Isaac	John	James	John	Charles		
Mary	Nancy	Margaret	Mary	Elizabeth	Mary	Joseph	Clara		
Jane	Ada	John	John	Melinda	John	Harmon	Ada		
David	Sarah	Mary	James	Mary Jane	Isaac	Alma	Emma		
Ada	Mary	William	Nancy	Harmon		Clara	David		
	Harvey	Thomas	Elizaa	William	d. 1881	Lyman	Lillian		
d. 1895	Isaac	Joseph	Harmon			Myrtle			
	Eva	Hyrum	Simeon	d. 1910		Mary	d. 1920		
		Francis	Susan			Mae			
	d. 1922	Sarah	Louisa						
		Irene				m. Anna Duke 1890			
			d. 1909						
		d. 1906				Jetta			
						Wade			
						Lita			
						Sadie			
						Birdie			
						Golda			
						Ida			
						Nellie			
						Grace			
						d. 1929			

Color Key:

North Carolina
Tennessee
Illinois
Iowa
Utah
Other

Bold = married to another Gibson Family

Some Marriages in Young family.



Jacob Young – Mary Boren

William Young	John	**Alfred Douglas**	Elizabeth
b. 1805	b. 1807	b. 1808	b. 1810
m. **Leah Holland Smith** 1826	d. 1813	m. **Malinda McIntosh** 1827	d. 1825
Willis James **Ethalinda** Polly William Rachel Squire Harriet Francis William Leah Susan m. **Anna Reynolds** Polly Ann m. Druzilla Boren Mary Malinda d. 1875		**John** Darius m. Ann Chappell 1831 Malinda Jacob Mary Nancy Sarah Martha Susan m. Rhoda Jared 1852 Celestia Jared Adolphia Rhoda m. Jane Sanford 1853 Alfred Frances Squire Joseph d. 1889	

Chapter One – Guilford County, North Carolina

Thomas Ross was born September 15, 1814, on a 150 acre farm near the border between Guilford and Orange Counties in the center of North Carolina. The farm was inherited by his father, Andrew Ross, part of a 750 acre estate that had been divided among four sons over two decades earlier. It was the only place where Thomas would ever live that had been previously occupied by a generation of white European people. To understand his life of pioneering, one must first understand the story of his grandfather's family.

Thomas never knew his grandfather, John Ross, who as a young man had moved to North Carolina[1] from coastal Virginia to make his fortune after inheriting a fifth share of his father's estate[2] during the French and Indian War (1754-1763). Since John Ross was only three years old when his father died, he couldn't take possession of his share until after he had reached majority, when he returned to Virginia to claim his inheritance.

Granville County was created in 1746 on the western frontier of North Carolina on the colony's northern border with Virginia. Having no western border, the new county technically extended clear to the Mississippi River. The land had already been settled by English colonists in the early 1700s, and by the time of the American Revolution, it was home to a thriving population of farmers, merchants, and craftsmen. The majority of the county's early population were slaves, most of whom lived in harsh conditions on tobacco plantations.

Around 1759 John Ross married Mary Jackson, whose family lived nearby.[3] Like most men of his age, John was a member of the militia. Granville records show that he hauled cargo for the Granville militia with his own horses and cargo wagon in 1769 when he was about 31 years old and was serving in the militia as the second highest ranking sergeant in the company. This was the time of the Regulators, a militia group who were first organized in North Carolina in 1764 before the creation of Guilford County, a large group of colonists who opposed the taxation and fee system imposed by British colonial officials. In 1771 this political argument led to a battle between about 1,450 Tory militia men, mostly from the coastal area of North Carolina that was controlled by the British appointed Governor Tryon, and about 1,110 Regulators. The Regulators were defeated, and following the battle a few of them were hanged. The majority were pardoned, bringing the movement to an end, and the governor required them to take a loyalty oath to the crown, but the conflict kindled the sentiment for independence.

That year Orange and Guilford Counties were carved out of the western part of Granville County. The governor envisioned that the new Guilford County would purge Orange County of insurgents and isolate them, but the plan backfired, and Guilford became an incubator for the American Revolution.[4] After the Regulator conflict, a new governor named Josiah Martin was sent by the British, who clashed with the

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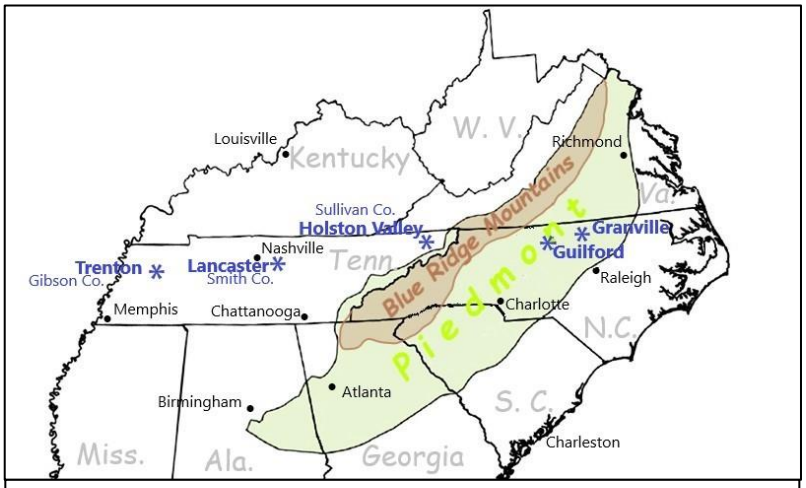
[1] He appeared on a tax list in Granville County, North Carolina in 1757 and was witness to a deed there in 1760.
[2] Wills and Administrations of Elizabeth City, Virginia.
[3] There has been an impressive amount of research, dispute, and speculation on John's marriage among genealogists linking John Ross to a Sarah Jackson in Middlesex, New Jersey. I am not going to enter the debate in this history except to say that I am personally convinced that Sarah Jackson was married to a different John Ross. There is a concise opinion entitled "Sarah Jackson of Woodbridge, New Jersey" in Notes for Mary Sarah Jackson LV3Q-JH8 in *FamilySearch*. Both sides of the issue are discussed in *FamilySearch*, Memories for John Ross L5LG-XV8.
[4] Sallie W. Stockard, History of Guilford County, North Carolina, pages 12 and 26.

North Carolina Assembly when it voted to repeal some taxes imposed by the British. In 1774 John Ross sold the land he owned in Granville and moved his wife and four children to Guilford. Although John Ross had been a member of the militia, this move suggests that he had an affinity for the Regulators side.



Piedmont and future locations of Ross and Smith Families

Guilford is in the heart of the Piedmont, a plateau region of the Eastern United States stretching from New York to central Alabama halfway between the mountains and the coast. It had many rivers, creeks, and watermills and produced tobacco, cotton, and wheat. The settlers of Guilford were a mix of three cultures: the Scotch-Irish (including the Ross Family) in the center of the county, German exiles from the Rhineland in the east, and many English Quakers from Pennsylvania in the west. The area had been settled as a part of Granville County for two or three decades before it became its own county, so it was not a primitive area of rude cabins but already had many fine houses and estates.

By 1775 North Carolina had expelled the royal governor and suppressed the loyalists, and the revolutionary spirit was spreading to all the colonies. On June 15th George Washington was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Colonial Army by the Continental Congress in Philadelphia, although not quite soon enough to command the Battle of Bunker Hill two days later in Boston. On February 27, 1776, the patriot militia defeated the Tories at the Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge, and the war in North Carolina was on, permanently ending British authority in the colony. The Continental Congress adopted the Declaration of Independence five months later.

Some Ross family histories claim that John fought as a soldier in the Revolutionary War, citing enlistment and pension records. However, there were 10 soldiers from North Carolina named John Ross who fought in the Revolutionary War,[5] which has created conflicting stories and claims. There were also six from Virginia and five from New Jersey, the other two colonies linked to our John Ross. Looking at their war records and pension claims, I could not find one of them who matched our John. This is probably because he was too old to be drafted or even to enlist. The earliest birthyear of these 21 men named John Ross was 1752, and the latest was 1770. Since our John was born in about 1738, he would have been 38 years old when the war broke out. And his son with the name John Ross was too young to serve, having been born in 1774. However, his oldest son Thomas, who was born in 1770, did become a soldier.

[5] According to Gemini, Google AI.

While many North Carolinians served in the Revolutionary Army, they fought mostly in battlefields in the northern colonies, but in October 1780 the war came to them, first at Kings Mountain, about 120 miles southwest of Guilford. Then General Cornwallis and 2,100 regulars of the British Army met Nathaniel Greene and Lighthorse Harry Lee at the Guilford Courthouse on March 15, 1781. In order to catch up with Greene's army, General Cornwallis had set fire to his baggage train except the wagons he needed to carry medical supplies, which forced him to forage for his army, plundering farms and facing desertions of his soldiers, while Greene's army was well supplied. John Ross contributed to the American cause in Guildford by supplying the Continental troops from his farm harvest. A receipt from the commissioner of Guilford County on January 28, 1781, reads: This may certify that as commissioner for the county aforesaid, I have purchased from John Ross three bushels of wheat at the price ascertained in Spanish milled dollars…. (signed) John White, Com.[6]

The British won possession of the battlefield and the courthouse in the 90 minute battle but lost a quarter of their army in the process, and the Americans withdrew intact. This pyrrhic victory led to the surrender of Cornwallis to George Washington seven months later at Yorktown, Virginia on October 19, 1781, which ended the war.

One year and three days later, land deeds[7] were issued in Guilford County for 300 acres on Hay Stack Creek of Haw River, 200 acres on Kennedy's Creek, and 250 acres between Reedy Fork and Haw River for John Ross. The Reedy Fork joins the Haw River a mile east of where the town of Ossipee is now located. The land is probably just west of Altamahaw. This would be 16 miles northeast of Guilford Courthouse on the eastern edge of Guilford County bordering Orange County.

Approximate location of Ross property.

It was on this farm that Thomas Ross' father, Andrew Jackson Ross,[8] was born on August 12, 1784, the eighth of John and Mary's ten children and 24 years younger than his oldest brother Thomas.

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[6] "North Carolina Revolutionary Pay Vouchers, 1779-1782," Sources in *FamilySearch* for John Ross L5LG-XV8.

[7] Book 975,662R2gV2 Guilford County, NC Deed Book 2 1770-1783.

[8] It is interesting to me that Andrew, of all of the ten Ross children, was the only one to receive the middle name Jackson, the maiden name of his mother, or for that matter, any middle name. It is rendered as Andrew Jackson Ross in most pedigrees but does not appear in any of the few primary sources, where he is simply Andrew Ross (or in one case A. Ross) in census and marriage documents. This raises the possibility that his name was confounded

No primary source has been found to document Andrew's date of birth, but virtually all secondary sources support this date.[9]

Andrew was five years old when General George Washington was inaugurated President of the United States on April 30, 1789, and only six when his father died in 1791 at the age of 53. Fortunately, his father wrote a will, which gives us most of what we know about Andrew's early life. The Ross family probably raised grain, not tobacco, the usual crop in Guilford County, since John Ross had no slaves to distribute in his will. He bequeathed a horse with saddles and bridles, two cows, beds, and furniture to each of his five daughters and divided his land among his four sons. Andrew's brother Thomas, who was 31 years old with three children, received 200 acres as well as a horse, three cows, and a plow with plow irons and accessories. The second son, John, who was only 17 and unmarried, also received 200 acres of land including the family house with the stipulation that he support their mother for the rest of her life (which turned out to be just three more years). Three hundred fifty acres of land remained for the two youngest sons, of which eight-year-old James received 200. Andrew, the youngest boy at six, received the remaining 150 acres plus a horse to make up the difference.

When Andrew was ten his mother Mary died, which left his 20-year-old bachelor brother John in charge of him and six other unmarried siblings.[10] Mary Ross' only married child was Thomas, who by then had five children of his own and was living nearby. Presumably, John and Thomas managed the 350 acres bequeathed to the two younger boys until they reached adulthood. The task of raising Andrew and James likely fell to a committee of their older sisters. Rebecca, the oldest, was 24. She married James Gowdy of Salisbury about a year after her mother died and may have died soon afterward herself. By the time Andrew was 14, his sisters Nancy and Mary had also left home to marry, leaving John to lead the household, which now included Margaret, age 18, James, 16, and 12-year-old Jane.

Then on November 19, 1799, Andrew's brother John married Mary Bishop, and a baby boy joined the unusual household the following August. Margaret got married three months later, followed by Andrew, who was just 16 when he married a neighbor girl named Anna Cummins on December 29, 1800. His 17-year-old brother James cosigned their marriage bond.

Andrew's wife, Anna Cummins,[11] was also raised in Guilford County, one of 14 children. According to her entry in *FamilySearch*, she was born in 1777, which would make her six or seven years older than

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by his descendants with the name of his son Andrew Jackson Ross or possibly informally adopted later in honor of the famous politician from his home state.

[9] These include many pedigrees, Find a Grave, Family Data Collection, Geneanet Community Trees Index, Millenium File, and others. The problem with that date is that it suggests Andrew was only sixteen when he married Anna Cummins, who was 23 at the time.

[10] I am basing the probable location and ages of the children on the best information available, having primary sources only for Thomas, the oldest child. Because of this uncertainty, I have not tried to correct the improbable list of John Ross' 21 children in *FamilySearch*, which as of this writing contains three Rebeccas, three Margarets, multiple children born in the same year, and children not mentioned in John's will.

[11] Many pedigrees give her name as Mary Ann. However, she is Anna Cummins in their marriage bond, the only primary source for her name, so this is how I will refer to her.

Andrew.[12] Her father was Robert Cummins,[13] who probably raised tobacco since he was the holder of at least 16 slaves, and also had an interest in the slaves owned by his sister Ann.

Sadly, John Ross died just a year later,[14] leaving the house and farm to his wife, two small children, and his youngest sister, Jane, who was 15. James was 20 years old by then and probably working on his own farm which adjoined Andrew's. James married around 1809. Nancy moved to Kentucky, and Margaret moved to Ohio with their husbands sometime between 1809 and 1814. Jane, who was 16, married two years later in 1804.[15]

Some pedigrees say that Andrew and Anna had a daughter named Mary, known as Polly, in 1801. She lived long enough to be one of three girls under 10 who were in the household in the 1810 census, but evidently died before adulthood. Their next child, John, was born in 1803.[16]

The next year, Lewis and Clark explored the Louisiana Territory which had been bought by Thomas Jefferson from Napoleon. While on the Missouri River, the explorers mapped a tributary which they named Bowyer's River, which will become important in a following chapter.

Andrew and Anna Ross named their third child Elizabeth but called her "Betsy."[17] She was born March 12, 1805, on their farm in Guilford.[18] According to Elizabeth's biography, her family lived on "a large plantation (with) Negro slaves" raising tobacco. Elizabeth often told stories to her grandchildren of her

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[12] The age difference between Andrew and Anna could be resolved by assuming that Anna's birth year was later than 1777, but I have found no evidence to refute that date. It is compatible with the dates of her siblings as grouped in the census of 1800, although it is still possible that that she was born later. The only primary source that I have found to document her age is the 1810 census, which shows a range for her birth year of 1766-1784, which could accommodate an age at marriage as young as 16.

[13] This surname has been spelled at least ten different ways in various sources. I will stick with this spelling when referring to Anna and her family. Variations include Cumins on her marriage bond, Cummins, Cumming, and Cummings in the U.S. Census, Cummings in the marriage registry, and Cimmins and Cimmings in her father's probate documents. It has also been rendered Kimmins and Kimmons. Her second son's middle name is Kimmins.

[14] His older brother Thomas served as executor for his will.

[15] Several family trees in *Ancestry* and the tree in *FamilySearch*, show another daughter named Sarah ("Sally"), who does not show up in John Ross' will because she was born shortly after his death. Marriage and census records show that such a person existed, but since she was not named in the will, there is no source to link her to John and Mary Ross. Mary would have been 52 years old when Sally was born.

[16] Some pedigrees give his name as John Harrison Ross, but he is simply denoted as John Ross in all census records, the death records of two of his children, and on his headstone.

[17] Elizabeth Ross was believed by some of grandchildren to be a descendant of the legendary flag designer of the same name. But the seven children of that Betsy Ross (whose maiden name was Griscom) were from her third husband, John Claypoole, so she had no descendants with the surname of Ross. Her first husband, John Ross, died in 1775 after they had been married only two years without children. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich article: https://web.archive.org/web/20110625161700/http://www.common-place.org/vol-08/no-01/ulrich/ That John Ross was a nephew of George Ross, Jr., signer of the Declaration of Independence. They are not related to our family.

[18] Some family stories give the place of her birth as Greensboro, the city that now surrounds the Guilford Courthouse, but Greensboro did not exist until 1808. The city grew up around the Guilford Courthouse, which originally sat alone in the fields in the center of the new Guilford county. After the Revolutionary War it was renamed Greeneville for General Nathanael Greene who fought at the Battle of Guilford Court House in 1781.

experiences growing up with slave children and their "mammies."[19] Her father Andrew may have been introduced into slaveholding by his father-in-law.

The fourth child of Andrew and Anna Ross was a boy named Robert,[20] born February 25, 1807, and the next was a girl named Sarah Adeline.[21] Little is known of her except that she was one of three girls under 10 who were reported in the 1810 census along with the expected two boys. She is presumed to have died as a child.

Melvin Ross was born October 12, 1810, having missed the census by four months.

The seventh child, Nancy Matilda Ross, was born July 15, 1812, four weeks after the War of 1812 with England began. She was two years old when our subject, Thomas, was born.

During the months preceding Thomas' birth, the whole country was celebrating the much-needed major victory at the Battle of New Orleans, which made General Andrew Jackson, who later became a U.S. president, a national hero.[22]

With the birth of Thomas Ross on September 15, 1814, the family had grown to eight children, all under the age of 13. (This assumes that Sarah and Polly were still alive—they probably both died sometime between 1810 and 1820.) There were four girls and four boys. The boys were too young to fight in the war, which officially ended December 24, 1814 with the signing of the treaty of Ghent, although General Jackson's famous victory actually happened two weeks later at the Battle of New Orleans, word of the treaty having been slow to arrive.

Mary Ann was born two years later, followed by the last child, Andrew Jackson Ross, Jr. on September 15, 1819, Thomas' fifth birthday. By this time John and Robert, now 16 and 12, were likely working on the plantation. Polly would have been 19. Elizabeth was 14. According to family stories, Elizabeth had a serious boyfriend named Isaac Mathis--there will be more about this later.

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[19] Jennie W. Johnson, "Elizabeth Ross Mathis (1804-1891)," *FamilySearch* LLQ8-HFR.

[20] Robert's middle name was Kimmins, likely a form of his mother's maiden name. That name does not appear in primary sources, but the initial K was used throughout his adult life and on his tombstone.

[21] This name appears in several family pedigrees, but not in the tree in *FamilySearch*.

[22] Jackson was born in Waxhaw on the border of North and South Carolina, about 100 miles from the Andrew Ross' farm, and he attended law school in Salisbury, just west of Guilford County, before setting up a law practice in 1788 in the wilderness of what was then western North Carolina beyond the Great Smokey Mountains in what is now central Tennessee. Later he was appointed attorney general over the western region of North Carolina. After Tennessee statehood in 1796 he rose up through the political ranks to the state legislature, U.S. Congress, the Senate, the Tennessee Supreme Court, and Major General of the state militia. Having enlisted over 2,000 Tennessee volunteers including another future American hero named Sam Houston, General Jackson defeated the Red Sticks, a Creek Indian tribe allied with the British which opposed American expansion, in Mississippi Territory (now central Alabama), winning it and part of southern Georgia for the eighteen young United States. Jackson's army of 3,300, which included 600 friendly Native American allies, went against 1,000 Creek warriors, killing 800, a number determined by counting their amputated noses. The troops made bridle reins from the skin of the victims and shipped home clothing as souvenirs to "the ladies of Tennessee."

Around 1820[23] the Andrew Ross family sold their land and slaves and moved to Tennessee. He probably never again saw his brothers and sisters except possibly James. Some pedigrees[24] indicate that his brother James Ross died in Carroll County, Tennessee in 1834. If so, he may have immigrated to Tennessee with Andrew or soon afterward.[25] It is likely that Anna Cummins Ross died in Guilford prior to their move shortly after the birth of her last child.[26]

There were at least two important drivers in the decision to move. One was a land rush to former Chickasaw hunting grounds in western Tennessee gained by the defeat of Native American tribes who had sided with the British in the War of 1812. Another was that the Guilford plantation was too small to divide between five sons. Also, Anna's death may have played a role. Andrew and his children probably crossed the Great Smokey Mountains into the Holsten Valley in the eastern part of Tennessee which had been settled a generation earlier by Regulator refugees from North Carolina in 1771.

Two family stories state that the Ross family worked its way across Tennessee in stages, which is supported by the 1820 census, where an Andrew Ross appears in Smith County, in the middle of Tennessee near Nashville and 150 miles from their eventual destination. This is probably our family. Most of the ages fit, but not all.[27] Since Andrew was named as head of the household, we must assume that the two older men and the woman living with him were lodgers. No other Andrew Ross appears in Tennessee that year, but most of the counties in Tennessee are missing from the 1820 census.[28]

The Ross family may have lived a year or more in Smith County, most likely on wilderness land or farmland. Of the 17,580 people living in the county, only 800 lived in one of the three incorporated towns. Carthage, the county seat, was on the north bank of the Cumberland River where it joins Caney Fork, and about 500 people lived there. It was the largest of the towns, the other two being Gordonsville on Caney Fork about seven miles south of Carthage with 200 people and New Middleton in the western part of the county, which had only 100. Four families living seven miles further south up Caney Fork named Smith, Love, Braswell, and Young, will later play an important role in the rest or our

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[23] I assume that Andrew's family left before August 7, 1820, since they do not appear in the census, although his brother James, who lived on adjoining property, did appear in the census that year in Guilford with four children.
[24] Geneanet Community Trees Index.
[25] In the 1830 census there is no James Ross in Carroll County, but there is one in Henderson, which borders Carroll on the south. The genders and ages of James' older children match those in Guilford County in the 1820 census.
[26] Anna is absent from the 1820 census, and she was not alive at the time of her father's will in December 1831. None of Anna Cummins' family moved to Tennessee. She had five surviving siblings at the time of her father's will in 1831, all of whom lived in Guilford including the children of her three dead siblings.
[27] The census, which was officially dated August 7, 1820, shows three boys under 10 and two boys 10-15. That fits. Andrew Jr. was one, Thomas was six, and Melvin was nine. Two boys were counted age 10-15. Robert was 13, but John was 17, which is not an exact fit, but his birthdate is not documented elsewhere. There was one male 26-44, who could be Andrew Sr., age 36. The census counted only one girl under 10, but our family had Mary Ann, age two and Nancy, who was eight. There was a girl 16-25, and Elizabeth was 15. Sarah had died before leaving and Polly, who was 19, stayed behind, possibly having married. She is said to have died in Guilford in 1832. (Geneanet Community Trees Index.) The woman in the census was 45 or older, so Anna is missing. There were also two men over 45.
[28] Counties missing from the 1820 census are Anderson, Bledsoe, Blount, Campbell, Carter, Claiborne, Cocke, Grainger, Greene, Hamilton, Hawkins, Jefferson, Knox, McMinn, Marion, Monroe, Morgan, Rhea, Roane, Sevier, Sullivan, and Washington. https://www.archives.gov/research/census

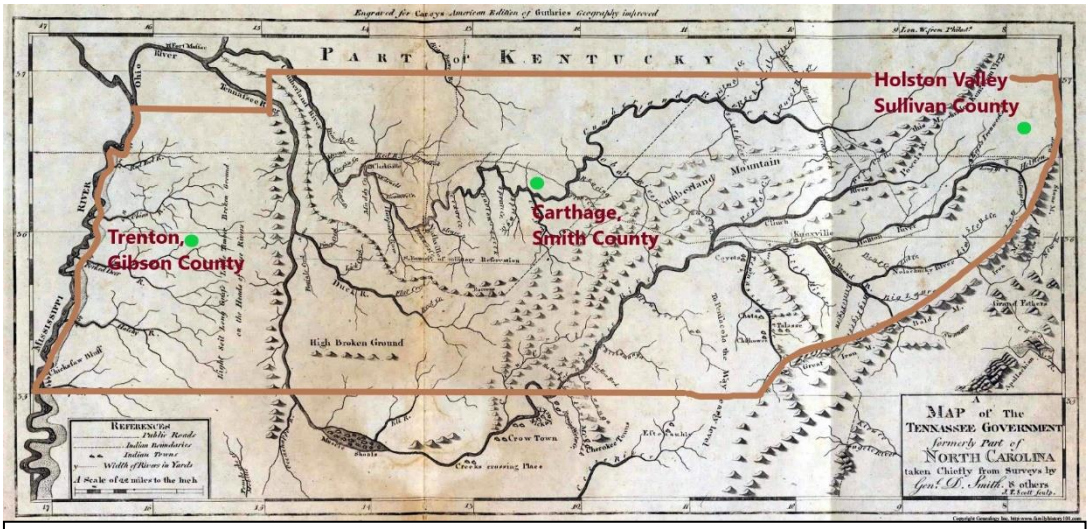
story, but I find no evidence that that they came into contact with the Ross family during this period. (They will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three.)

What we know for sure is that the Ross family reached their ultimate destination in the wilderness of eastern Tennessee by February 20, 1823, when seventeen-year-old Elizabeth Ross married Isaac Mathis.[29]

[29] *FamilySearch* and most other secondary sources give the marriage date as February 20, 1822. However, in her application for her widow's pension in 1871, Elizabeth declared under oath that she was married to Isaac on February 20, 1823, by John Trainer of Henry County, Tennessee.

Chapter Two – The Andrew Ross Family in Tennessee

It was about 1757 when Daniel Boone first entered eastern Tennessee. His famous inscription "D. Boone Cilled a Bar" (killed a bear) was probably carved in 1760 on a now famous tree in the Holston Valley. After the Treaty of Paris in 1763 brought the French and Indian War to a close, King George forbade colonists to settle west of the mountains, but he was largely ignored by the colonies of Virginia and North Carolina, who both claimed territory in what is now Kentucky and Tennessee.[30] Treaties with the Indians in 1768 and 1770 resulted in a wave of white settlement into the Tennessee territory. After Governor Tryon's defeat of the North Carolina Regulators in 1771, many of them fled westward over the Blue Ridge Mountains and settled at Watauga near the Holston River, which was thought to be the boundary between Virginia and North Carolina. Virginia offered 400 free acres and a chance to claim 1,000 more at a low price to settlers in the Holston River Valley.



The brown line approximates the outline of the present state of Tennessee.

The Watauga settlement petitioned North Carolina to annex their settlement after being turned down by Virginia. The request was received August 22, 1776, and the legislature quickly acted upon it, creating the Washington District in November 1776. One year later the state of North Carolina opened a land office to settle Watauga, offering 640 acres for a man and 100 for his wife and each child, a strong incentive. At about the same time, a new surge of settlers arrived in middle Tennessee via the Cumberland Gap.

In December 1779, Colonel John Donelson (future father-in-law of President Andrew Jackson) explored down the Holston River in a company of 30 partially roofed flatboats aiming to settle on the Cumberland River in middle Tennessee. His 13-year-old daughter Rachael, Jackson's future wife, went with him. They arrived April 24th at the Cumberland settlements at Big Salt Lick, now known as French Lick.

By 1789 there were two separate groups of settlers in Tennessee: about 30,000 in Washington County area and another 7,000 spread out in middle Tennessee. The next year North Carolina relinquished its claim, and two regions were merged into a new U. S. territory called Washington, which became

[30] Boone and a man named Findley entered middle Tennessee via the Cumberland Gap a decade later in 1767.

Tennessee, the 16th state, in 1796, when Andrew Jackson was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. Nashville, the principal settlement in middle Tennessee, had 345 residents including 136 slaves by 1800.

At that time there were no settlements west of the Tennessee River. The west was a broad expanse of dense forest of tall trees with an abundance of wild game. The rivers were not navigable, and there were no roads. The only mode of travel was by pack horse. Western Tennessee was a principal Chickasaw hunting ground until October 18, 1818, when Andrew Jackson and Governor Isaac Shelby of Kentucky bought the western third of Tennessee and part of western Kentucky from the tribe for $300,000.[31] It was not open for settlement for nearly two more years pending the completion of survey maps. North Carolina soldiers of the Revolution were rewarded for their service in land grants. A private got 640 acres, a sergeant got 2,000, a captain 3,600, and a colonel 4,800. But many of the grants were never occupied by the veteran. Instead, beginning in 1785 they were sold in North Carolina by speculators, and there were many squatters. An "occupants bill" was passed later, which gave each settler 200 acres. Holders of the veterans' documents received priority, but there followed a tangle of lawsuits over property rights. Another reason for the delay in settlement was poor transportation. With no roads, the import and export of goods had to await the availability of transport to navigable tributaries of the Mississippi River.

Such was the situation when Andrew Ross and his children arrived around late 1820 at the frontier settlement of Paris. At the time it was the westernmost town in the state. The very first settlers had arrived a year earlier,[32] and Henry County was created November 7, 1821. The town of Paris was not incorporated until September 30, 1823, seven months after the marriage of Isaac Mathis and Elizabeth Ross.

Isaac Mathis was 29, a veteran of the War of 1812, who was seeking wilderness land for himself. He had enlisted as a private on November 13, 1814, in nearby Dickson County and had served in the Battle of New Orleans.[33] He was discharged at Nashville on March 13, 1814, when Elizabeth Ross was only 10 years old.

Various histories of Elizabeth and Isaac claim that Isaac had been a close neighbor to the Ross family in Guilford with a longstanding romantic interest in their daughter Elizabeth. As the story goes, he was anxious to be a soldier but was too young, so he ran away to enlist. After the war he returned home and worked on his father's plantation until marrying Elizabeth and moving afterwards to Tennessee.

This story seems unlikely to me for several reasons.

First, Isaac wasn't too young to enlist as the story claims--he was more like 20.[34] Any romantic interest in Elizabeth before Isaac's enlistment seems unlikely since she was only nine years old at that time. Second, he enlisted in Tennessee. Why would he travel 500 miles from North Carolina to enlist there, when volunteers for the War of 1812 in North Carolina were paid a bounty of $124 to sign up plus $8-12

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[31] Frederick M. Culp and Mrs. Robert E. Ross, Gibson County, Past and Present, County Historical Society, 1961.
[32] Goodspeed's History of Tennessee, 1887.
[33] He served in Captain Francis S. Ellis' Company of Infantry, Second Cock's Tennessee Militia. (United States War of 1812 Service Records, 1812-1815.)
[34] According to the U.S. census, he was 56 in 1850. Find a Grave, a less reliable source, gives his birth year as 1792, which would make him 18 at the time of enlistment.

per month, 160 acres of bounty land, a rifle, and a uniform? About 1,200 men in North Carolina volunteered for the regular army, most of whom served on the Canadian front. Third, it seems unlikely that Isaac's family owned a plantation near the Ross family. There is no Mathis family in Guilford County in the 1820 census. There were two with a similar name of Matthews, but neither had a male in Isaac's age group (16-23).[35]

It is more likely that Isaac grew up in Tennessee. Although the birthplace of Isaac's father is given in his *FamilySearch* pedigree as South Carolina, all of Isaac's younger siblings were born between 1800 and 1816 in Montgomery County, Tennessee, which borders on Dickson County where Isaac enlisted. No one named Mathis or Matthews was mentioned as one of the 35 Dickson County residents who served in the War of 1812,[36] but if he lived in the southern part of Montgomery, it would have required a trip of little more than 10 miles to enlist in Dixon.[37] `

In Paris, Elizabeth and Isaac Mathis had a daughter on January 3, 1824, whom they named Eliza.[38] Within a year, the Mathis family moved about 25 miles south to Carroll County, where their second child, John Thomas Mathis, was born near the town of Huntingdon.

The first settlements in Carroll County had been made at McLemoresville and Buena Vista around the year 1820 with the opening of a land office, which recorded its first entry for land on December 6, 1820. In 1822, the Tennessee General Assembly created Carroll County and chose the town of Huntsville, soon renamed Huntingdon, on the north bank of Beaver Creek as the county seat, which quickly grew into a thriving community. The new county consisted largely of large tracts of land owned by investors in North Carolina and extended west to the Mississippi River. In October 1823 two new counties were carved out of the western two thirds of Carroll County, which were named Gibson and Dyer.

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[35] The Ross plantation was near the border with Orange County, but there was no Mathis family there either. There were three Matthews families, all of which had a male in Isaac's age group, but none was headed by Isham Matthews or Mathis, the name of Isaac's father as listed in *FamilySearch*.

[36] Goodspeed Histories of Montgomery, Robertson, Humphreys, Stewart, Dickson, Cheatham, Houston Counties, 1972.

[37] There are no primary sources attached to any of Isaac's siblings, and nobody named Mathis appears in the 1820 census in Montgomery County, only four named Matthews, of which only William was of an age to have been in Isaac's family. An Isham Mathews lived in Williamson County around the time of Isaac Mathis' enlistment according to numerous tax records listed erroneously as sources in *FamilySearch* for Isaac's father, but they belong to another Isham Mathews LQRJ-2R8, who could not have been Isaac's father, having been born in 1782 and married in 1805. There were several other Mathis families in the 1820 census, but most lived in Maury and Lincoln Counties in the south of middle Tennessee. The closest was Simon Mathis in Gallatin on the northern border about 64 miles northeast of Dickson County, who had a son in Isaac's age range. To complicate things further, Isaac's birthplace is given as Georgia in the 1850 U.S. census in Pottawattamie County and on the death certificate of his namesake son in 1917. Certainly, more research is needed here.

[38] Her headstone reads 1822, but this would be before her parents' marriage. Her patriarchal blessing confirms the year 1824.

Isaac and Elizabeth settled on land in Carroll County outside the boundaries of the town of Huntingdon. At some point Isaac received a war bounty, which he later sold.[39] Perhaps this was that property. They had a son who they named Allen on September 8, 1827. Family pedigrees denote his birthplace as "Madison, Carroll," but there is no town or township called Madison in Carroll County. The known location of some of their neighbors[40] suggests they were near the current town of McKenzie, about halfway between Paris and Huntingdon. The 1830 census shows Andrew Ross' oldest son John, by then twenty-seven years old, living with Isaac and Elizabeth. John married Rhoda Kennedy later that year, and they settled three miles east of McKenzie in Macedonia, where he spent the rest of his life and never became a Mormon.

Western Tennessee Counties in 1823

Andrew Ross and the rest of his children do not appear in the 1830 census in Tennessee. Perhaps they were in Carroll County on a wilderness plot of land beyond the reach of the census taker,[41] or possibly further west in the newly created Gibson County, where he later appeared. At this point Andrew was 40 years old. The five boys were ages six 6 through 22, and the two girls were seven and 13.

Andrew's second son Robert, age 23, was living in a place of his own about 50 miles west of McKenzie in Dyer County,[42] which had been chiefly settled by middle Tennesseans. The census shows him living alone in Dyersburg, the county seat. The western part of Dyer County is on the Mississippi River bottoms, and Dyersburg was a steamboat town with the navigable North Fork of the Forked Deer River running right through it. Its first lots were sold in 1825, and by 1830 its population was about 1,900 people.

General Andrew Jackson become President of the United States on March 4, 1829. He had capitalized on his war success to run for president in 1824, but although he won 42% of the popular vote and more electoral votes than his opponents, he did not win a majority, and went on to lose the election in the House of Representatives. Jackson and his followers were outraged, feeling that the election had been stolen, which enraged his followers in Tennessee, as well as all of the frontier states in the South and the Midwest, who all favored Jackson.

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[39] War of 1812 pension files, parcels WT 24308-80-50 and WT 46323-80-55.

[40] On the same page of the census (83/106) were Alfred Bethel, Green Bethel, and Ambrose Dudley, early settlers in the vicinity of McKenzie around 1820. On the previous page was John McKenzie upon whose property the town of McKenzie was later built. A family headed by William Mathis, possibly Isaac's brother, was also living in Carroll County.

[41] There was one Andrew Ross in the 1830 U.S. census in Tennessee, but he lived in Morgan County, far from Carroll County, and he was in his 20s with no children. Also, someone named A. Ross lived in Giles County in the southern part of middle Tennessee, 150 miles southeast of Carroll County. I don't think he is our Andrew either—A. Ross lived among four other Ross families.

[42] This is not to be confused with a town called Dyer in Gibson County just nine miles east of the Dyer County line and 21 miles east of Dyersburg, the county seat. That town began as a railway stop in 1880, long after the Ross family had moved to Utah.

Robert Ross soon moved back to Carroll County to marry Jane Bird in October 1831 and lived near the Bird family for about a decade before he and Jane returned to Dyer County. Judging by her father's neighbors in the 1830 census, Jane was from McLemoreville, 13 miles south of McKenzie. Nineteen-year-old Nancy Ross married John Kilbreth[43] that year, too. By the end of 1831, four of Andrew's children were married, and all of them were living in Carroll County.

It is not known exactly where Andrew and his younger children lived between 1825 and 1832. Carroll County is one possibility, since the four older children had settled there, but Andrew could have been living in Gibson County as early as 1825. The fact that his son Robert had been living west of Gibson in Dyer in 1830 supports that possibility. Another son, Melvin Ross, was 21 in 1831 and still unmarried. He may have been living independently in Gibson County. If so, the only children at home with Andrew at that time were Thomas, age 15, Mary Ann, 13, and Andrew Jackson Ross, Jr., age 12.

The first white settlement in the present limits of Gibson County was made in 1819[44] by Thomas Fite, his brother-in-law John Spencer, and James Randolph. They constructed the first house on the Little North Fork of the Forked Deer River about eight miles east of what is now Trenton, the county seat, when the area was still Indian territory, and they returned the spring of the next year with their families. The same year, John Eubanks built his house about six miles west of the present town of Dyer.[45] Colonel David Crockett came that year from Lawrence County, Tennessee with several family members. The next year Richard Smith arrived with his family from Smith County, Tennessee to be the first to settle in the northeast corner of Gibson County about 11 miles from Trenton, starting a settlement that was later known as Bradford. He brought his older brothers including James Agee Smith,[46] and two brothers from the Young family of Smith County soon settled in Trenton.[47] Gibson County was named for John H. Gibson, who had died while fighting under the direction of Andrew Jackson in Natchez in 1813. The main town in the county was Gibson Port, later named Trenton.

In January 1833 the widowed 49-year-old Andrew Ross married a 25-year-old woman named Elizabeth, probably in Gibson County. I cannot find a marriage record, which is surprising since the marriage bonds

[43] The only source of John Kilbreth's birthplace is his seventies record, which gives Alabama. This seems unlikely since his father joined the Tennessee militia in 1812 and married in Kentucky in 1802. John's family was from Obion County, just north of Dyer, but they were living in Dyer by 1840.

[44] Frederick M. Culp, et al, Gibson County Past and Present, 1961, Trenton, Tennessee.

[45] Not to be confused with Dyer County.

[46] As there are several people named James Smith in the story, to avoid confusion I will henceforth refer to this James as James A. Smith and his nephew as James Agee Smith.

[47] The Smiths and Youngs soon became important figures in the story of the Ross family.

and licenses of all three of his sons during that period are extant. Perhaps it was a common law marriage. Most pedigrees give no surname for Elizabeth, but a few have linked Andrew to Elizabeth Albright.[48] Another family states that her maiden name was Trainer.[49]

Andrew and Elizabeth had a child, born December 4, 1833, in Trenton, whom they named George Washington Ross.[50]

Andrew's older brother, James Ross, is said to have died about this time Carroll County. Very little else is known about him. It seems possible that the two brothers came together in 1820 from Guilford.

On August 23, 1834, Andrew's son Melvin married Rebecca Smith, a daughter of Richard Smith, the original settler in the northeast part of Gibson County. My guess is that Andrew, his new wife Elizabeth, their new baby, and all the unmarried Ross children were living in the Smiths' neighborhood, since a year later his son Thomas Ross married Rebecca's cousin Rachel Smith. According to an inscription in the Ross/McMullin family Bible, they were married at the home of James A. Smith on September 20, 1835.[51] Both young couples set up housekeeping near the Smiths.

Throughout the rest of this book, the Smith and Ross families and two other families of Gibson County will be thoroughly bonded through marriages, common religion, and resettlement. Allow me to digress to explain their origins.

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[48] A man named George Kirtner is listed in the 1830 census for Gibson County. He was 30-39 years old with two boys under five, one boy 5-9, and one 15-19. There was a female age 20-29, possibly his wife, who could be our Elizabeth. A George Coertner, who was probably a widower, married Elizabeth Albright on March 27, 1821 in Orange County, North Carolina. Since Orange County borders the Ross plantation, it seems possible that Andrew knew Elizabeth and George before both families moved to Tennessee. Elizabeth's pedigree in *FamilySearch* L21H-4Q4 shows three boys, who would have been four, nine, and twelve years old in January 1833 (another had died at the age of two) and a one-year-old daughter, so there are discrepancies with the 1830 census. If this is our Elizabeth, she left the children with George Kirtner when she married Andrew Ross. George Kirtner had five children and no wife in the 1840 census, which is consistent with this hypothesis. For the purposes of this story, I will assume that this is the Elizabeth who married Andrew Ross, but the evidence is not strong.

[49] Source: Image 00003, *FamilySearch* memories, George Washington Ross L856-4F7. There were no families named Trainer in Gibson or the surrounding counties in the 1830 census, but two families named Trainer or Trainor are listed in Fayette County, about 80 miles southwest of Trenton, in which there is a female between the ages of 15 and 19 who could conceivably have married Andrew. However, her forename isn't given, she would have been no older than 22 in 1833, and there is a male in his 30s in the household, who could be her husband.

[50] My main source for most future references to George is R. L. Palmer Smith, George Washington Ross and Martha Ann Smith, *FamilySearch* memories L856-4F7.

[51] Their marriage date is incorrectly given as September 12, 1835, in *FamilySearch*. That is the date of the marriage bond.

Chapter Three – The Smith, Young, and Cummings Families

The paternal grandparents of Rebecca and Rachel Smith were George Smith[52] and Leah Agee, who were married in Buckingham, Virginia a year before the Boston Tea Party.[53] The couple was soon separated for a considerable time while George served as a soldier in the Continental Army and worked his way up to the rank of lieutenant. By the time that their first child was born in 1781 they had moved to the Holston Valley, west across the Great Smoky Mountains.

Before 1776 only a few hundred white people were living west of the Appalachian Mountains, mainly French explorers, missionaries, fur traders, and a few colonial farmers. Early in the war, Leah's brother, Joshua Agee, had been sent there as a soldier to protect a group of early settlers called the Watauga Association from the Cherokee Indians, who were allied with the British. His regiment built a fort on the Holston River. When the war was over, that region, which was initially claimed by both Virginia and North Carolina, became Washington District and later the state of Tennessee. Many veterans who had served there returned with their families as settlers including Joshua Agee, his brothers, and others who will later figure into our story such as Bazel Boren, his brother John Boren, and William Young.[54] In addition to Joshua's experience, George and Leah were probably attracted to Sullivan County by a war bounty for his own military service. There they brought up their children as neighbors to Leah's brothers.[55] In 1791, her parents, Anthony and Christiana Agee, moved west to join them, where Anthony Agee patented 299 acres.[56]

Leah's first child, William Francis Smith,[57] was born shortly after their arrival around September 1781, the month of the victory at Yorktown which ended the Revolutionary War. After William F. came Thomas, James A., Sarah, Richard, and three other girls, the last born around 1800, and they all grew up among their Agee cousins. Leah Agee Smith died sometime between 1802 and 1815. Her daughters married and never left Sullivan County, but her husband George and their four sons eventually moved to new settlements in middle and western Tennessee. It was in Smith County[58] in middle Tennessee that

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[52] Most family trees call him George Thomas Smith. Revolutionary War records used as his sources refer to him as both George Smith and George Thomas Smith. In some land records he is Thomas, in others, George, but none of them call him George Thomas Smith. (It is possible that we are dealing with more than one man.) In this paper I will simply use the name George.

[53] Some of the Smith family have written that George Thomas Smith was a descendant of Captain John Smith of Jamestown, however historians believe that Captain John Smith never married and has no known descendants. In his brief autobiography, James A. Smith, the third son of George and Leah, claims to have descended from Captain Smith and says that Hyrum Smith, the prophet's brother, told him that they came from the same family. Both claims are probably incorrect.

[54] Gary D. Young, Tennessee Born, Escalante Bound, Biography of Willis Smith Young, collected from various sources. See *FamilySearch* Memories for Willis Smith Young KWJH-HB5. Bazel Boren was among the forty men who joined Daniel Boone in Powell's Valley in 1773, where Indians killed Boone's son and five others. Boren was the grandfather of William Young who married Leah Holland Smith, sister of Rachel.

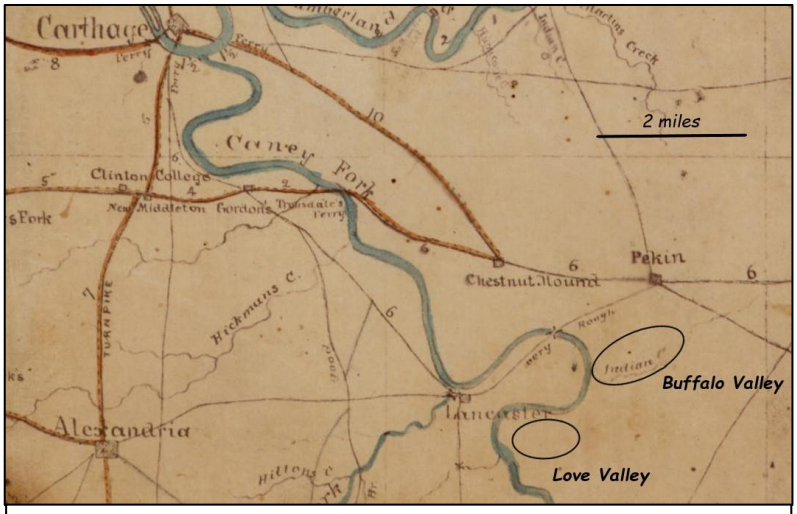
[55] Jay L. Smith, George Thomas Smith and Leah Agee, p. 135 in *FamilySearch* Memories, Thomas Smith LZ6S-MBX.

[56] Leon S. Pitman, The Agee Family, *FamilySearch* memories LZTM-X4R, p. 2-3.

[57] Some of his descendants say the name Francis was added erroneously by his descendants. I agree, but since there are several men named William Smith in this story, I will henceforth refer to him as William F. Smith to avoid confusion.

[58] Smith County was organized October 26, 1799, about 250 miles west of Sullivan County, named for an early U.S. Senator, Daniel Smith. The county seat was the town of Carthage on Caney Fork of the Cumberland River, where the first settlement had been made by William Walton in 1787. Most of the pioneers came on grants issued by the

her son James A. Smith married Margaret Ann Love on May 24, 1810.[59] James A. probably had come after his mother's death in Sullivan County with his brother, Richard Smith, who was then 18, and possibly also with their widowed father George and their two older brothers, William F. and Thomas Smith.



Buffalo and Love Valleys, 1862 map.

Margaret Love's family was from South Carolina but had moved to Sullivan County by 1800 and then on to Smith County before 1808. Her father, William Franklin Love, had an impressive Revolutionary War career. Although she was only 19 years old, Margaret was already a widow when she married James A. Smith, with a four-year-old son named Adam Stevens and an infant named William. Her late husband was Hezekiah Stevens. Her parents lived just south of the modern border of Smith County[60] in a bend of the Caney Fork River about 14 miles southeast of Carthage in a place still known as Love's Valley,[61] undoubtedly on a land grant for veterans. The newlyweds settled near Margaret's parents or in Buffalo Valley two miles up Caney Fork on Indian Creek. Their first daughter, Leah Holland Smith was born December 10, 1810, just seven months after their wedding (if the unsourced dates of the marriage and birth are correct.).

By this time, the population of Smith County had grown to 4,104 people with about 200 living in Carthage. Nashville, which was 52 miles to the west, had grown from 345 residents (including 136 slaves) in 1800 to about 3,000.

An unusual event occurred on December 16, 1811, which affected all of Tennessee and would have hit hard in Smith County. It was the New Madrid earthquake, the strongest in the entire history of the United States, whose epicenter was 200 miles from Love's Valley in what is now northeast Arkansas. It was actually a series of earthquakes that continued for several months. The first quake was an estimated magnitude of 8.1 on the Richter scale and caused widespread damage including the collapse of buildings, the formation of sinkholes, and the diversion of rivers including the Mississippi. The Smith and Love families left no record of their experience of this disaster, but they undoubtedly experienced it. Here is an eyewitness report from Cahokia, Illinois, about 135 miles from the epicenter.

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state of North Carolina for military service in the Revolutionary War. Until 1802 there were no roads, only Indian trails. Supplies had to be brought in by pack animals. Settlers generally arrived on foot, sometimes with a single horse drawing a single vehicle by shafts, which required opening the pathway with knives and hatchets. The forests were broken up into clearings for isolated cabins.

[59] History of James Agee Smith, Geneve Smith Deuel, in his memories LZBQ-7BH.

[60] That region became Dekalb County in 1837.

[61] Map is adapted from of Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3962t.cws00162/ .

> On the night of 16th November 1811, an earthquake occurred that produced great consternation amongst the people. The center of the violence was in New Madrid, Missouri, but the whole valley of the Mississippi was violently agitated. Our family all were sleeping in a log cabin, and my father leaped out of bed crying aloud "the Indians are on the house" ... We laughed at the mistake of my father, but soon found out it was worse than the Indians. Not one in the family knew at the time that it was an earthquake. The next morning another shock made us acquainted with it, so we decided it was an earthquake. The cattle came running home bellowing with fear, and all animals were terribly alarmed on the occasion. Our house cracked and quivered, so we were fearful it would fall to the ground. In the American bottom many chimneys were thrown down, and the church bell in Cahokia sounded by the agitation of the building.[62]

James A. and Margaret's second daughter, Rachel, was born August 22, 1813, one year into the War of 1812, and about a month ahead of the birth of her future husband, Thomas Ross, in Guilford County, North Carolina. Their third child, Thomas Washington Smith, was born two years later.

Also living in Buffalo Valley[63] were an elderly Virginian named William Young and his wife Elizabeth. They had settled on Little Indian Creek around 1811 and were surrounded by their adult children with families of their own. William Young and his sons must have obtained considerable land, for after his probate was settled, William's son-in-law Adam Marley bought 300 acres that William owned on the south bank of the Cumberland River, which was seven miles to the north of Buffalo Valley.[64] William had been a lieutenant in the Virginia and North Carolina militias during the Revolutionary War. He and his sons were farmers, skilled blacksmiths, and carpenters, well suited to meet the challenges of pioneering, and one of his sons ran a gristmill. James A. Smith must have known the Young family while he was living in Smith County. It is even possible that James A., who later built and ran mills in Utah, learned his trade from the Young family.

William and Elizabeth Young had eight children. Seven of them were born in Virginia and the eighth in South Carolina before the family settled in Tennessee. For the rest of their lives most of them remained in or near Buffalo Valley, and all were probably known to Richard and James A. Smith. But only the two oldest, David and Jacob Young, and their children are of further interest in our story.

David Young had arrived in Tennessee with his parents in the 1790s, where they first lived a few years in Springfield, Robertson County before settling at Buffalo Valley in about 1811.[65] David accumulated 285

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[62] John Reynolds (1788–1865), the fourth governor of Illinois, among other political posts, mentions the earthquake in his biography My Own Times: Embracing Also the History of My Life (1855).) Also check this out: http://www.new-madrid.mo.us/132/Strange-Happenings-during-the-Earthquake

[63] Buffalo Valley was once a thriving community with a grist mill, general stores, a pole and timber yard, livestock dealers, a produce dealer, a bank, and two blacksmith shops. However, the town declined in the early 20th century, and today it is largely abandoned. It is now in Putnam County.

[64] Report of Research done in 1970 for Young Ancestry, by Eleanor M. Hall, *FamilySearch* Memories for William Young L8MB-D6Y.

[65] Buffalo Valley was in Smith County for just one year after which Jackson County was created, its western border drawn on the Caney Fork River a mile or two from their land. Between 1842 and 1854 the valley was intermittently part of Putnam County where it still lies.

acres of land and eight children, and eventually joined the Mormon Church in 1842, as will be told in the following chapters.

David's older brother Jacob Young didn't initially accompany his family to Buffalo Valley. After the wife he had brought from Virginia died, he married 16-year-old Mary Ann Boren in Springfield in 1804, where he was an excellent mechanic and served as a militia leader. When he did not return as promised from a long work-related project between 1808 and 1809, Mary Ann took their four children, Squire, John, Elizabeth, William Alma, and Alfred Douglas to Union, Illinois where her father Basel Boren had settled, and she lived for several years before hearing from Jacob. After he finally returned to Springfield, Jacob Young married another woman and remained there until after his parents died in 1818 and 1819, after which he moved permanently to Buffalo Valley where he was a noted gunsmith. Some years after her separation from Jacob Young, Mary Ann married her much younger cousin, Willis Boren. She was 29 and he was 16 when they began living together with her children and two of her younger siblings. Mary Ann Boren and her children went on to greatly affect the lives of the Ross and Smith families. Two of her sons would be influential in the conversion of the Smith and Ross families to Mormonism in Gibson County, and one of them would marry James A.'s oldest daughter.

On December 11, 1817, Richard Smith married Diana Braswell.[66] Her family had settled in Smith County about when the Smith brothers arrived. Diana's brother, Richard Braswell, was married to Martha Love, Margaret's little sister. Richard and Diana had their first child, Rebecca,[67] a year and five days after their wedding. Rebecca would later marry Melvin Ross.

On October 31, 1818, old William Young died in Buffalo Valley and was buried near Indian Creek, and his wife, Elizabeth Huff Young, died the following May. Meanwhile, twin boys named William Willard and Robert Love Smith were born to Margaret and James A. Smith on October 13, 1819. Soon afterwards, the Smith brothers left Buffalo Valley with their young families, bound for the wilderness of western Tennessee.

The history of Gibson County[68] names Richard Smith among the first to settle in the wilderness area which later became Gibson County. The very first settlers arrived in 1819, but Richard's arrival time is not clear from the passage, although it names him as the first person to settle in the area of Bradford.[69] Neither Richard nor James A. Smith is named in the 1820 census in either county, which suggests that they left before August 7, the date of the census, or they would have been listed in Smith County as were William Love and Andrew Ross.[70]

The trip from Smith County to Bradford is 200 miles, about half of which might have been by flatboat on the Cumberland River to Clarksville. The rest was without roads, along Indian pathways. William F. and

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[66] *FamilySearch* erroneously gives their marriage place as Carroll County. The county did not even exist until 1821.
[67] Practically every family story and tree gives Gibson as her birthplace. If so, her father arrived before the historical first settlers and before the county was organized.
[68] History of Tennessee, Goodspeed, 1887, p. 798.
[69] There was not a town in the Bradford area until after the railway station was built in 1874. The town was named Bradford in 1875 and had a population of about 1,000 people by 1880, long after the Smith family left.
[70] The 1820 census was listed alphabetically, not by location, so it is impossible to deduce how near to the Smith, Young, and Love families Andrew Ross' family lived. I found no evidence that they knew each other before they all moved to Gibson County.

Thomas Smith, their two older brothers, may have gone with Richard and James A. If not, they followed soon afterward.[71] Their widowed father George Smith had died in 1819.[72]

The Smith families probably had very few neighbors in their settlement, but over several years a small community sprang up there including extended family members such as the Ross family. The area was briefly part of Carroll County when it was organized November 7, 1821, and then in Gibson County after 1823. Richard and Diana's son Philip Lewis Smith was born there on December 27, 1820, soon after their arrival. Their daughter Rachel Leah was born November 30, 1822.

Alfred Douglas Young wrote that his family moved when he was 14 years old from Kentucky to Madison County, Tennessee in 1822. This was most likely to a place called Gibson Station, which was renamed Trenton when it became the county seat of the new Gibson County, which had been carved out of Madison County about ten miles southwest of the Smiths' settlement. The Young family was a big group that consisted of Alfred's stepfather Willis Boren, his mother Mary Ann Boren (Jacob Young's former wife), his half-brother Squire with a young wife, his 18-year-old brother William (who later married Leah Holland Smith), his mother Mary Ann's five young children with Willis Boren, and at least one of Mary Ann's younger siblings. We know that the Borens and Youngs lived in or near Gibson Port (later Trenton) because court records show that they were involved in building the first road in the county there. Several more roads were built the next year. James A. Smith and Richard Smith were appointed to help build a road from Trenton to the Carroll County line beginning at Leopard's Creek and ending at Rutherford's Fork in Obion County.[73] William F. Smith was definitely in Gibson County by then, as he was listed on the 1827 tax list along with his brothers Richard and James A., and William Young.

William Alma Young, the grandson of the Smiths' old neighbor William Young in Buffalo Valley, married 16-year-old Leah Smith, the oldest daughter of James A. and Margaret on November 11, 1826.

> William Alma Young was in his early 20's in Gibson County, when he began to think about marriage. Social diversions in Gibson County consisted of church meetings, quilting bees for women, and the men indulged in tree cutting and log rolling. Horseracing was a favorite community sport. In fact, transportation was almost wholly on horseback. Many young men going from meeting sought out some young woman and asked permission to ride home with her.

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[71] William F. Smith's daughter Martha Patsy is said to have been born in Trenton on October 13, 1821, so he had moved to Gibson before this time. It is likely that she was actually born in the Bradford area, since William F. was there in the 1840 census near the rest of the Smith clan. William F. had lived in Kentucky in 1818 and in Alabama for the birth of his son George Washington Smith (confirmed in multiple censuses.) I'm not sure about the oldest brother, Thomas Smith. There is little data on him, probably because he never joined the Church. I don't find him in the 1830 or 1840 census with the rest of the family in Gibson, but there was a Thomas Smith of his age in nearby Carroll County. His pedigree in *FamilySearch* says that Thomas died in Washington County, Tennessee in 1834. However, several *Ancestry.com* pedigrees give the birthplace for his children who were born between 1824 and 1832 and for the 1836 death of his wife Mary Kinner as Gibson County, which suggests that he may have joined his brothers there.

[72] James Agee Smith and Margaret Love, memories in *FamilySearch* LZBQ-7BH: "Researchers have found that in 1855 both James Agee Smith and his brother Richard stated that their father, Thomas Smith, was born in Buckingham County, Virginia, in 1746 and died in 1819. The place of death was not given."

[73] Gary D. Young, Tennessee Born, Escalante Bound Biography of Willis Young, p. 3., *FamilySearch* memories KWJH-HB5.

> Much of the sparking and courting was done from saddle to saddle. This is doubtless how William Young and Leah Smith met and were married on 11 Nov 1826.[74]

William Young was 21 years old, and Leah Smith was only 16 when they married. On the very same day and place, a man named John Anglin McIntosh[75] married the widow Susannah Boren, a younger sister of Mary Ann Boren.[76]

After a gap of nine years, the sixth child of Margaret and James A. Smith, Samuel Houston Smith, was born in October 1828.[77] He had five older siblings at home: Rachel, who was 15, Thomas Washington, 12, and the nine-year-old twin boys. Richard and Diana Smith also had five children at home, ages three through nine. The following March, Willis Smith Young was born to William Young and Leah Smith in Gibson.

In 1830 another family entered the story of the Ross family when a 28-year-old South Carolinian named John Cummings (not related to Anna Cummins Ross) moved to Gibson County. In his memoir he wrote "we" moved, but he seems to have come alone or with friends, for his siblings stayed in South Carolina, and he was not married to Rachel Canady until 1834 in Gibson. John was the last of 11 children. We will learn more about his descendants in the following chapters.

On September 7, 1830, James A. Smith was fined five dollars for missing jury duty. David Crockett was also fined but had a good excuse: he was serving in the U.S. Congress. We are speaking of the famous Davy Crockett, who later died at the Alamo.[78]

In 1834 Richard Smith's daughter Rebecca married Melvin Ross. A year later her cousin Rachel Smith married Thomas Ross.

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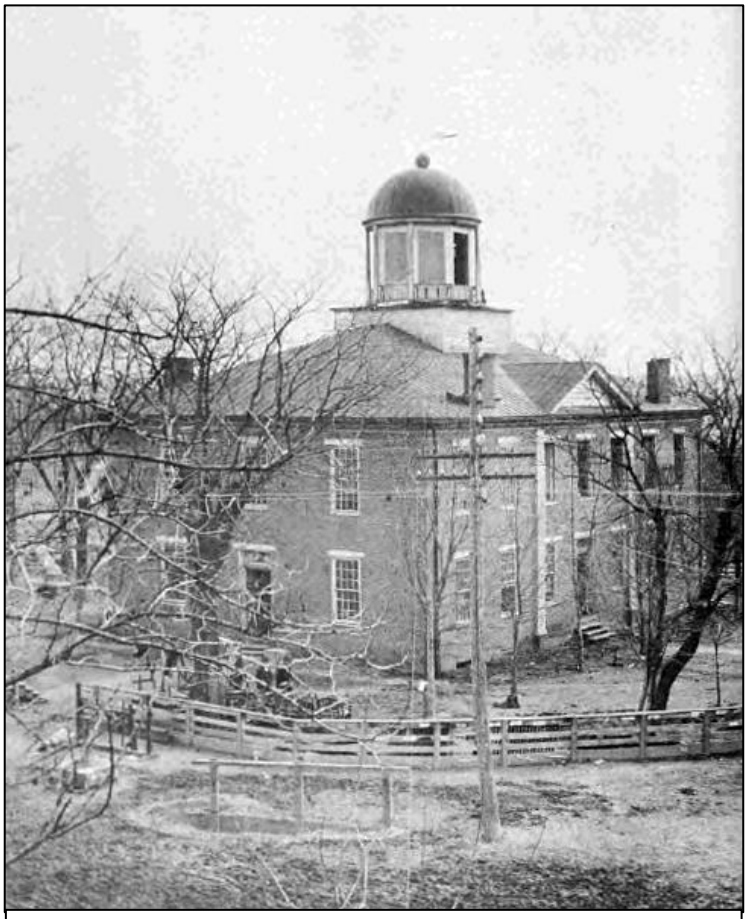
[74] Gary Dean Young, Life and Times of William Alma Young Tennessee Frontiersman, Utah Pioneer, Family History Library, book 976.823 V2w.

[75] McIntosh, a Kentucky native, lived in Gibson County until about 1827 when he moved to Illinois and fought in the Black Hawk War in 1832. He joined the Mormon Church in June 1838. He had previously joined the Baptists when he was about 15.

[76] The couple would later move to Union, Illinois, where John joined the LDS Church, after which he returned to Gibson County as a missionary and converted many of the Young, Smith, and Ross families. The brothers Squire and Alfred Young also returned to Union for a few years around 1827, where Alfred married Anna Chappell in 1831, but they were back in Gibson by November 3, 1833.

[77] Samuel was named after the serving governor of Tennessee, who soon would become the hero of Texas.

[78] Crockett had lived in Lawrence County since 1817, where he served in the Tennessee General Assembly, but in 1821 a flood of the Tennessee River destroyed his businesses, and he moved to Carroll County on acreage on the Obion River, which became part of Gibson County. He again won a seat in the General Assembly, this time representing Carroll, and three other counties. He ran for congress from 1827 to 1835 after which he famously joined the Texas Revolution.



Gibson County Courthouse built in 1841.

Chapter Four – Mormonism comes to Gibson County

The marriages of Melvin and Thomas Ross into the Smith family was just the beginning of a complex linkage between the two families that lasted for generations as they pioneered in at least thirteen different locations.[79] Of the eight children of Andrew and Anna Ross who lived long enough to marry, five married into the families of Richard and James A. Smith, and Melvin Ross married two Smith sisters. In the second generation of Rosses, Elizabeth's daughter Eliza Mathis and Thomas' son James Andrew Ross also married Smiths.

The third Ross/Smith marriage happened in the spring of 1836 when Melvin and Thomas Ross' 18-year-old sister, Mary Ann Ross, married Thomas Washington Smith, age 21, probably in the home of his father James A. Smith. The young couple settled about 12 miles away at Royal Hill[80] near Trenton.

Elizabeth Albright reportedly died April 26, 1836, reportedly in Obion, which is about 20 miles north of Trenton. At this time George Washington Ross was two years old.[81] Eight months later, Andrew Jackson Ross Sr. died at the age of 61 on December 29, 1836, leaving two orphaned boys. How would a teenage boy be able to step in as sole parent to a three-year-old?

Of Andrew Jr.'s married sisters, only newly married Mary Ann was living at that time in Gibson County, so she may have stepped up to take care of her little half-brother. She became pregnant about that time, and her child Robert Adam Smith was born September 5, 1837. Sadly, when her baby was four months old, Mary Ann herself died on January 3, 1837, and her husband Thomas Washington Smith moved with his infant back to his father's house.

This was not the first time Thomas' parents, Margaret and James A. Smith, took in a motherless child. Six months earlier they were given custody of an orphan boy named William Smith.[82] I think this is the child called William Frasier Smith in their pedigree, since the family already had a boy with the name of William—17-year-old William Willard Smith, one of the twins.[83]

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[79] Among these are Gibson, Tennessee, Camp Creek, Illinois, Shirtses Branch, Iowa, and in Utah: Provo, Heber, Center Creek, Kanosh, Sevier, Joseph, Fillmore, Washington, Pahreah, Wellington, and Coyote (Antimony.)

[80] Royal Hill was a small community near the town of Trenton. It was founded in the early 1800s, named for a nearby hill that was said to resemble a royal crown. Royal Hill was a thriving community for many years, but it began to decline in the late 1800s and was eventually abandoned. The only remaining evidence of its existence is the name of the hill.

[81] Elizabeth's death date and location are in her sources in *FamilySearch* L21H-4Q4. These are not a primary source but based on a pedigree in Geneanet. However, she certainly died before October 1, 1838 when her son George Washington Ross was indentured as an orphan.

[82] "James A. Smith appointed guardian of William Smith, an orphan." Gibson County Court Records; Family History Library book 976.823/P2h, p. 99: 6 Jun 1836.

[83] Trying to find William Frazier's birth parents, I looked for heads of families named Smith in the Gibson 1830 census who did not appear in 1840 and found two. Joshua R. Smith died in 1834 with probate filed on September 15th. No heirs were mentioned in the document, but he had a boy under five years old in the 1830 census who could have been William. However, he also had seven other children including a girl between 15 and 20 and a wife between 30 and 39, which makes an adoption seem less likely. I found no further information on the other man, Curtis Smith. In the same census there was an unmarried woman between 60 and 69 years old named Rebecca Frazier, who was running a plantation in neighboring Carroll County with eight slaves, a 20 to 30-year-old white male (presumably her son), and a boy between 5 and 10 who could have been our William if he assumed the Smith at the time of the adoption. More information is needed.

Nine months later, young Andrew Jr. (he went by "Jackson Ross" in the 1840 census) married another of the Smith girls, Rachel Leah, who was two months short of 15 years old. It is possible that Andrew brought his little half-brother George into their marriage.

Rachel Leah's parents were James A. Smith's brother Richard and Dianna Braswell Smith. The marriage was performed by the justice of the peace in Trenton. This happened to be William Young, who was married to Rachel Leah's cousin, Leah Holland Smith, daughter of James A. Smith. The young couple didn't make their home in the Smith settlement as their siblings had done, but moved to Dyer County, where Andrew Jr.'s older brother Robert Ross had previously lived. Before long, Robert and his wife returned to Dyer, and were soon joined by two of Andrew's sisters, Elizabeth Mathis and Nancy Kilbreth and their families, all from Carroll County. Dyersburg was strategically situated, which made it a major transportation hub. The Cumberland Road which Richard and James A. Smith had helped to build through Gibson County a decade earlier helped to connect the Mississippi and Cumberland Rivers for trade and transportation via the Forked Deer River, a branch of which ran by the town. It had become a boom town with a bank, a cotton processing press, and a women's school.

The records of the town of Trenton show that on October 1, 1838, the four-year-old orphan George Washington Ross was indentured[84] for a period of 15 years to Willis Boren. At that time Rachel Leah Ross was eight months into her pregnancy. She and Andrew Jr. had their own son in Dyer on November 18, 1838, whom they named James Richard Ross.

There is more to this story. The man who probably presided over the indenture proceeding was William Young, the justice of the peace in Trenton who had performed the marriage of Andrew and Rachel Leah. And Willis Boren, who assumed custody of little George, was William Young's stepfather (whom we first mentioned on page 28 of Chapter 3.) All of Willis and Mary Boren's children were married and out of the home except a thirteen-year-old daughter named Sarah Ann, who became a foster sister to George.

Everything changed for the Ross, Smith, Cummings and Young families in the Gibson County area after Melvin Ross became the first of them to join the Mormon Church on June 1, 1839. His wife Rebecca Smith Ross was probably baptized about the same time.[85] They had two little children at home.

Melvin was baptized by John Anglin McIntosh and confirmed by Elder Timmons.[86] McIntosh had been ordained an elder the previous fall in Illinois and began a proselyting mission in several surrounding states that lasted about three years, in the middle of which he walked the 120 miles south across the "toe" of Kentucky to seek converts in his old home of Gibson County. It is probably no accident that 13

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[84] Indentured servitude had existed in America since its colonization by English subjects and was still in use in New England and in the South until the mid-19th century. It was a practice that bound poor people to people of means for a fixed period to the benefit of both parties, especially in communities where no poor house existed. Indentured children were usually orphans or children of paupers, who could not support them.

[85] Rebecca was baptized at the same time according to the Ross timeline and biographical notes in Melvin's memories, although her RLDS record states that she was baptized LDS in 1838. (Saints' Herald Obituaries, 1896, p. 656.) If so, she was the first of the Tennessee group to join by at least six months. If she was baptized by John McIntosh as Melvin was, it could not have happened before the fall of the year since McIntosh himself wasn't baptized until June.

[86] Although he was about the same age, Elder Mcintosh was an uncle to William Young, having married William's mother's younger sister, Susannah Boren. Shortly after his marriage, McIntosh left Gibson County and moved to southern Illinois, where he fought in the Black Hawk War in 1832. He had been baptized a Mormon in Johnson County and was living among the Borens on the southern tip of Illinois in June 1838.

years earlier McIntosh had been married in Gibson on the same day that Melvin's Aunt Leah Smith married William Young. At the time of their baptism, Melvin and Rebecca were living next door to Rebecca's father Richard Smith.[87]

The main body of the Church was centered in Far West, Missouri, undergoing serious renewed persecution. They would be totally driven out of the state by wintertime.

Apparently, after baptizing Melvin and Rebecca Elder McIntosh returned for a break in his mission to be with his family in Illinois for there were no more baptisms reported in Gibson for a year.

By this time the Mormons had completed their exodus from Missouri, and the prophet Joseph Smith was establishing the new city of Nauvoo.

The next member of the Gibson group to be baptized was Thomas Washington Smith, who was baptized in the winter of 1841, but not by Elder McIntosh.[88] He was baptized by a missionary named Zachariah Wilson.[89] Thomas was single at the time, his wife Mary Ann Ross having died in childbirth, and their child Robert was now three. They were living in the Smith settlement with Thomas' parents, Margaret and James A. Smith and their unmarried sons.

Zachariah Wilson

Since Thomas Washington Smith was living with his parents at the time of his baptism, it is tempting to assume that they were baptized at about the same time, but James A. wrote that he was baptized in 1841 by Elder John McIntosh, and McIntosh did not return to Gibson County until July.[90] The

[87] "Next door" is a relative term, for the Smith settlement was not a town, but a loose connection of clearings on land grants of 200 to 500 acres about 10 miles northeast of Trenton, which was the only town in the county at the time. Within an eight mile radius of the Smiths were about 44 households whose proximity to each other can be roughly estimated by the counting number of lines between them in the census document. Two lines above Richard Smith appears his brother William F. Between them is John Reynolds, who married William F.'s daughter. Two lines further up the page is Thomas Canady, the brother of Rachel Canady, the wife of John Cummings, whose name appears on the following page, having settled a few miles east of the Smiths. Two lines below Melvin appears Melvin's younger brother Thomas Ross, who is two lines above his own father-in-law, James Agee Smith.

[88] According to three brief biographies posted in *FamilySearch*, Thomas Washington Smith was baptized on January 6, 1841, but February 19th is the baptismal date that Thomas supplied when he was called on a mission in 1881 according to the official missionary register, the record of missionaries set apart in Salt Lake City between 1860 and 1959.

[89] Zachariah Wilson was born in Farmington, Tennessee. Little is known about his conversion, but his older sister was baptized in Tennessee in June 1836 and headed for Missouri, but she ended up stalled in Illinois, joining a group of Mormons who had fled in 1839 from Missouri. Possibly Zachariah was with her. He married in Lawrence, Illinois near the Wisconsin border, and turned his life to missionary work in 1839 before the Saints had settled in Nauvoo. In a missionary letter to Josiah Butterfield, he reported raising up two branches of the Church in southern Illinois between July 24th and the end of 1839 when he organized a branch on the Ohio River consisting of 18 members in Johnson County and another in Union County with eight members. This was a year after the conversion of John Anglin McIntosh in Johnson County, so there was obviously at least one Mormon there around whom to build a branch. (Historical Department Journal History of the Church, 1830-2008, Call Number: CR 100 137.)

[90] Johnson County marriage documents show that McIntosh was there performing marriages on February 3 and April 4, 1841.

other members of the Smith household were also probably not baptized, at least at that time, although all of their names appear in 1830-1848 membership rolls of the Church. His mother Margaret's baptism date is not documented. Thomas' 21-year-old twin brothers, William and Robert, were living at home at the time, but William was baptized later, according to his biography, and Robert never joined the Church. Samuel Houston Smith was 11. The adopted son, William Frazier, was a teenager.[91]

Elder McIntosh returned to Gibson in July 1841 with "Brother Timmons"[92] and baptized McIntosh's nephews, Alfred Douglas[93] and William Young[94] in July 1841 at the home of their stepfather, Willis Boren, in Trenton. He also baptized William's wife, Leah, the sister of Rachel Ross. Both of these women were daughters of Margaret and James A. Smith.

Elder Timmons[95] also baptized Thomas and Rachel Ross that July. This must be about when James A. Smith and his wife Margaret were baptized by Elder McIntosh. James A. was later ordained a priest by his son-in-law, William Young.

About this time Thomas Ross' older sister Elizabeth and her husband, Isaac Mathis were baptized just before moving with their six youngest children to Iron City in Lawrence County.[96] Their ninth child, Thomas William Mathis, was born in Iron City on July 23, 1841.

I could find no more records of baptisms that year by Elders McIntosh and Timmins, but the Young brothers became filled with missionary zeal and picked up the work, evidently without the knowledge of Church headquarters. This produced an impressive number of baptisms, but later got the brothers into hot water with the Brethren.[97]

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[91] The census in 1840 lists three males aged 20-29 in the household, who would be Thomas and the twins. There is a boy aged 15-19, who must be William Frazier, which would mean he was born between 1821 and 1825. (There is no documentation of his birth year—only "about 1830." He was adopted in 1836, so he was probably 11 to 15 at the time.) The boy aged 10-14 is Sam Houston Smith, age 12. The boy <5 was Thomas Washington Smith' son Robert Adam Smith. Another child of James A. and Margaret named Robin, who was born around 1830, had died by then. *FamilySearch* has Robin's gender as female, but he was posthumously baptized and endowed July 9, 1889, by Thomas Ross, so he must have been a male.

[92] This is likely Andrew A. Timmons, who appeared in the 1840 census in Johnson County on the same page as McIntosh and his father-in-law Basel Boren. Timmons had received an Elders License in Nauvoo from Joseph Smith on October 6, 1840.

[93] Alfred Douglas Young was not only a nephew, but also a brother-in-law to McIntosh, having married his sister Malinda Talbert McIntosh, who had died 12 years earlier.

[94] William's obituary states that he was baptized in 1839. His family group sheet gives the date as July 10, 1840. However, Alfred Douglas Young's biography states that the two brothers were baptized on the same day.

[95] From Maria Elnora Gay Ross family records: "Thomas and Rachel Smith Ross were baptized July 1841 by Elder 'Zimmins.'" Ellen Ogden and also Lambourne and Child Family History, The Life and Conversion stories of our Ancestors' Family History Stories by Brett Lambourne in Thomas' memories states: "Thomas and Rachel were both baptized into the Latter-day Saint Church on August 2, 1842." That is also the date given in Rachel's bio by Ella Parker Ogden, but that date doesn't make sense since, the Ross family had already gone to Hancock County, Illinois by then.

[96] Iron City is 260 miles southeast of Gibson on the Alabama border, settled only seven years earlier. The Mathis family may have moved to Lawrence County because it was new and offered cheap land or perhaps a military bounty for Isaac, an 1812 veteran. The county was known to be relatively tolerant of religious minorities. Iron City was not incorporated until 1887.

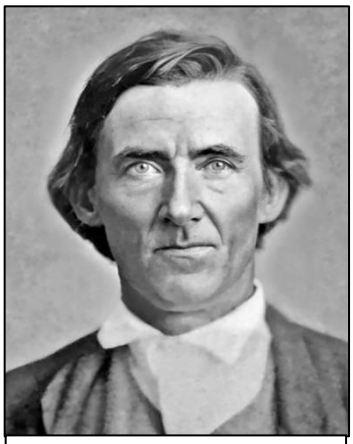
[97] The Willis Smith history mentions a companion to William and Alfred Young by the name of Douglas Hunt. I could find no one with that name in the missionary database or the Joseph Smith Papers. A man named Hardy

Elder McIntosh may have gone to visit Nauvoo that summer, for that is when he is said to have been baptized by proxy for his deceased father, Cornelius McIntosh. The principle of baptism for the dead was not revealed until August 1840, and was mainly practiced on the bank of the Mississippi River in Nauvoo until November 21, 1841, when it was moved to the pine timber font on the backs of 12 white carved wooden oxen in the basement of the uncompleted Nauvoo Temple.[98]

On August 15, 1841, Richard and Diana Smith were baptized by Alfred Young. Also among their converts were John and Rachel Ann Cummings, who later wrote that they were baptized in Gibson County by "Billy" Young.[99]

The Young brothers continued preaching and baptizing. Sometime in 1841 Alfred Young baptized Rachel Leah Smith Ross, the daughter of Richard Smith and wife of Andrew Jr., probably in Dyer County.[100] Her husband was baptized the following year.

Alfred Douglas Young was ordained as an elder by Brother Hunt and his brother William on September 16th. The next day he received a miraculous vision in which he saw an angel, who escorted him into the presence of God and Jesus. His brother William, who was with him, didn't hear or see anything except that Alfred appeared as if dead, but he always supported Alfred's story. Among many other instructions, Alfred was commanded to visit and convert the rest of the Young family in Buffalo Valley in middle Tennessee.



Alfred Douglas Young

Andrew Jackson Ross Jr. and Leah Smith had another child in Dyer on September 24, 1841, whom they named Melvin Ross after his uncle. By the end of the year about 60 people had joined the new branch.

The first of the Gibson families to move to Nauvoo was the Melvin Ross family, just as they had been the first to join the Church. Their move was probably around November of 1841. Melvin and his wife Rebecca Smith left the Smith settlement with three small children: James, six, Isaac, three, and one-year-old Martha. Nauvoo property records and the birth record of their fourth child Emma show that they were living in Nauvoo by Jan 6, 1842.

Hunt was an early settler in Gibson County who would have been known to the Smiths and Youngs. It is possible that his son, 28-year-old son Wilson D. Hunt, was an early convert who might have joined the Young brothers in their proselyting. There was also a man about the same age named Douglass Hunt living at that time in Fayette County, 80 miles south of Gibson.

[98] Joseph Smith first revealed the practice of vicarious baptism for the dead in a funeral service for Seymour Brunson on August 15, 1840. Evidently, Saints began baptizing each other in the Mississippi river from that day on. (Jane Neyman statement, given Nov. 29, 1854, in Journal History.) The prophet revealed the principle in General Conference in Nauvoo October 2, 1841. The first baptisms for the dead in the uncompleted Nauvoo Temple were performed Sunday, November 21, 1841. (History of the Church, 4:454). The wooden font and oxen were replaced by stone in August 1845.

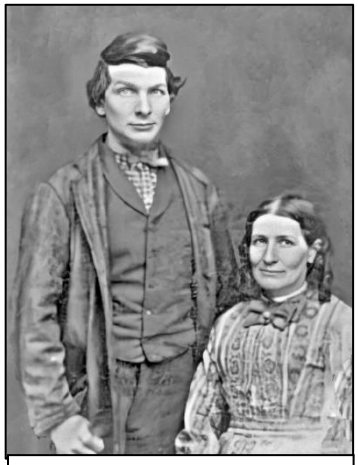
[99] The Cummings story dates their baptism to the spring of 1841, but it must have happened later, since the Young brothers themselves weren't baptized until July.

[100] This date is from her LDS membership record. It also gives April 1843, which is unlikely since it was a year after Andrew's death.

In the meantime, the Young brothers were broadening their missionary efforts. In October, Elder Hunt left Gibson due to persecution, which was affecting all the new converts, and Alfred turned his attention to proselyting around his home in nearby Henry County. In January 1842, in response to Alfred's miraculous vision the two Young brothers embarked with Douglas Hunt on horseback to visit friends and relatives who were still living in Buffalo Valley. When they arrived in February they found that their father Jacob Young had passed away, but they preached to their other relatives and friends, and baptized fifteen or twenty people. Among these were their cousin, Adolphia, and Adolphia's wife, Rhoda.

In March the Church authorities in Nauvoo sent a missionary by the name of John D. Lee[101] to the old home of the Young family in middle Tennessee. He was gone only two and a half months and just missed the Young brothers, but he was able to build upon their success. He wrote in his journal that he was warmly greeted by his friends in Tennessee, who "collected together & wished I should preach to them, as they were starving for the word of life & salvation."[102] On April 12 he baptized twenty-three people, among whom were William and Alfred's uncle, David Young, and several of his children.[103] While Elder Lee was in Putnam County, he wrote a letter lodging a complaint about the unauthorized missionary efforts of the Young brothers, accusing them of heresy because of the miracles that had occurred during their conversion and subsequent missionary work. The letter was published in the Nauvoo newspaper *Times and Seasons* on June 15, 1842.

There was yet another marriage between the Smith and Ross families early in 1842 when William Willard Smith (known to his family and friends as "Billy"), one of the twin sons of Margaret and James A. Smith, married Eliza Mathis. According to the family legend, he followed the Mathis family to Iron City in Lawrence County and courted her there, but the place given for their marriage is Adair, Madison, which is 21 miles south of Trenton, much closer to Gibson County. His twin brother, Robert Love Smith, had married a non-Mormon named Elizabeth Ann Carroll, and remained in Gibson County the rest of his life.



Billy and Eliza Smith

The Gibson County archives show that on April 5, 1842, "Willis Boren was released from any further liability on his indenture bond for George W. Ross, a minor." This is puzzling to me. At that time George was eight years old, having lived with the Boren family for about four years. His foster sister, Sarah Ann was by this time 17 years old, and preparing to marry Thomas Washington Smith a month later and depart for Nauvoo. Willis and Mary Boren's sons, William and Alfred Young would be departing in just a week. It is tempting to think that the Borens wanted to be released from their liability for George in order to accompany their sons west, but according to their

[101] Yes, this is the infamous man who was executed in 1877 for the Mountain Meadows Massacre.

[102] Diary of John D. Lee, typescript copy at the Utah State Historical Society. (Quoted in Tennessee Born, Escalante Bound Biography of Willis Smith Young FS, KWJH-HB5, p. 5).

[103] David died at Winter Quarters in 1847. His fourth son, John, who married in Nauvoo, later joined the RLDS. His fifth son William evidently did not join the Church and died at Indian Creek in 1847. Neither did his sixth son Lewis, a physician, who eventually moved to Texas. Two of his daughters, Lavina and Mary, became Mormons, and eventually married their missionary John D. Lee, becoming his 13th and 14th wives. The youngest child, David, became a Mormon and died at Winter Quarters.

biographies, the Borens did not leave until 1843.[104] In any case, George's indenture was picked up on May 2, 1892 by a non-Mormon named Jeremiah H. Dills "to learn the art of farming." He stayed with Dills a year, and then he was picked up by Charles H. Ross.[105] I found no further indenture records, but George appeared in the 1850 census in the family of Richard McKelley in Gibson County as a 17 year old laborer.[106]

The rapid growth of Mormonism was upsetting to the locals, leading to persecution that created great interest in the new converts to heed Joseph Smith's call to Nauvoo. Just a year earlier on May 24, 1841, Joseph had issued "To the Saints Abroad" the following:

> The First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, anxious to promote the prosperity of said church, feel it their duty to call on the Saints who reside out of this county to make preparations to come in without delay. This is important and should be attended to by all who feel an interest in the prosperity of this, the cornerstone of Zion…. Let it therefore be understood that all the Stakes…are discontinued, and the saints instructed to settle in this county as soon as circumstances will permit."[107]

Alfred Young wrote, "Sometime in April my brother and myself arranged our affairs to gather to Nauvoo. In the midst of much persecution and annoyance which entailed on us some loss of property, we got started on our journey.... We arrived on the 9th of June 1842." They took their families by land to Nauvoo along their familiar path through Johnson and Union Counties in southern Illinois, where they had grown up.

William Young was 37 years old at the time, and his wife Leah (daughter of James A. Smith) was 31. Their oldest child Willis was 13. Ethalinda Margaret (whom the family called Malinda) was eight years old. There were also James, seven, William Darius, five, Rachel Derinda, three, and a little one-year-old, Squire Sebastian, named after his uncle Squire Young. Alfred Young traveled with two boys from his first marriage to Malinda McIntosh—14-year-old John William and 12-year-old Darius—and five children of Anna Chappell between the ages of eight months and eight years. The missionary John Anglin McIntosh, who also emigrated to Nauvoo, may have joined them in Johnson County, Illinois. His wife Susannah Boren died there that June.[108]

It had become necessary for the Mormon families to leave Tennessee for their own protection, some even sneaking away in the middle of the night to avoid mobbers. Several Smith and Ross families followed, but they traveled by river, the quicker and probably also the cheaper route. James' son

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[104] The family histories of the Borens state that Willis and Mary weren't even baptized until 1843 in Gibson County. That is puzzling, since their home in Trenton was the place that the missionaries converted their two sons. One source claims that Willis Boren was baptized in 1840, which makes more sense to me.

[105] Charles H. Ross was not a relative of George Washington Ross. He was a 22-year-old farmer from Kentucky.

[106] George Washington Ross' 15-year indenture ended in October 1857. It is not known how or exactly when George found his way to Utah, but he appeared in the 1860 census in the household of his maternal grandparents, James A. and Margaret Smith in Heber. Some pedigrees claim that George enlisted with the Third Regiment of the Kansas Indian Home Guard. This is false, since this regiment was not formed until September 16, 1862 during the Civil War when George was living in Utah. We will continue his story in a future chapter.

[107] Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois: History of Hancock County, v. 02, p. 834.

[108] McIntosh later remarried and fled with the Saints in 1846 to Iowa, where he stayed for the rest of his life and joined the RLDS, having rejected polygamy.

Thomas Washington Smith is known to have worked as a "boater," having made several trips to New Orleans in his younger life. By this time steamboats were traveling up and down the Mississippi, and there was a water connection all the way to Nauvoo via the North Fork of the Forked Deer River at Dyersburg, just 26 miles from Trenton.

James A. Smith's oldest daughter Leah had already gone by land with the Youngs. His party included his second daughter Rachel and her husband Thomas Ross with three young children: James Andrew, five years old, Margaret "Peggy" Ann,[109] three, and Leah Lucinda, three months old. His son Thomas Washington Smith, whose wife Mary Ann Ross had died after childbirth, married Sarah Ann Boren (half-sister to the Young brothers) on May 14th in Gibson just in time to join the exodus with his three-year-old son. The teenagers, Samuel Houston and William Frazier, started out with their parents but dropped out and returned to Tennessee.[110] Newly married William Willard Smith and his wife Eliza Mathis did not leave with his parents but came later in 1844.

Richard Smith's oldest daughter Rebecca was already in Nauvoo, having gone with her husband Melvin Ross a few months earlier. All but one of his other 13 children traveled with him: his sons Phillip, 21, John, 18, Thomas, 16, James, 12, William, 11, Ephraim, nine, Adam four, and Newell, two, and his daughters Nancy, six, and Sarah, aged four. His wife Diana was pregnant with their last child, Elizabeth. Only his married daughter, 19-year-old Rachel Leah, remained in Dyer with her husband Andrew Jackson Ross and their two boys. She would join them later.

William F. Smith, the oldest of the Smith brothers, remained in Gibson for several more years. I'm not certain that he ever joined the Mormon Church although a few of his children did. He eventually left Gibson with several of his children around 1850 and moved directly to Pottawattamie County, Iowa, where he established a new settlement and was joined there by some of the other Gibson County families after they fled Nauvoo. We will discuss this in chapter six.

Some of the Ross families did not leave that spring with Thomas and the other two Smith brothers. John, Thomas' oldest brother, never joined the Mormon Church and never left Tennessee. Robert, Elizabeth, and Nancy Ross would follow later with their families. Robert Ross didn't join the Church until 1843. His family remained in Dyer County until at least 1844, possibly 1845. Isaac and Elizabeth Mathis didn't go west from Lawrence County until 1850. Andrew Jackson Ross Jr., who had been baptized sometime in 1842,[111] died the next year when a wagon load of wood got away from him on a hilly road in Dyer County. His widow Rachel and their two little boys James and Melvin, ages three and seven months, joined her parents and siblings in Hancock County that summer.

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[109] Margaret's full name was Margaret Ann, but she was known as "Peggy Ann" to her family. Since there are several characters in this story with the name Margaret, for clarity I will henceforth refer to her as "Peggy Ann."
[110] Samuel has an LDS membership record, so he must have been baptized before dropping out. He was 22 and working for a blacksmith in the 1850 census in Smith County in middle Tennessee. He married in 1858 and lived the rest of his life in DeKalb County, Tennessee. William Frazier, with whom Sam Houston had dropped out on the trip to Nauvoo, died in Smith County in 1884. Perhaps the brothers moved together to Smith County due to religious persecution in Gibson County. In 1860 Sam was living six houses away from his mother's brother Hezekiah Love and his family near the old homestead in Love Valley with his wife Mary Ann Elizabeth Maxwell and one-year-old child. They named their boys after Napoleon, Isaac Newton, General Sherman, and Stephen A. Douglas.
[111] St. George Temple Records, Baptisms for the Dead, FamilySearch Library Microfilm Number 170,542, line 2633, Dated 13 February 1878, proxy was Thomas Ross, brother to Andrew.

The Cummings family remained in Tennessee until the following spring.

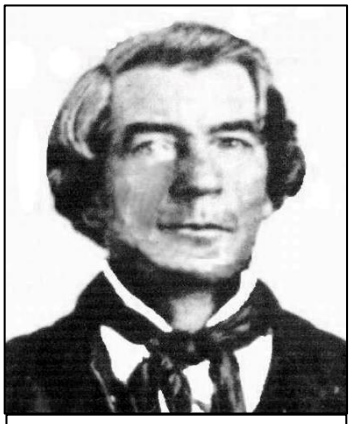
Chapter Five – Camp Creek and Nauvoo

Around 1818 a Quaker named Jacob Mendenhall moved his family over the Smokey Mountains from Guilford, North Carolina heading west. He was exactly the same age as our Andrew Jackson Ross and may even have known him, but instead of settling in Tennessee, Mendenhall continued on to Salem, Indiana where he farmed for about a decade before his wife died. He remarried and resumed his western migration to Pekin, Illinois on the Illinois River.

Around 1832 a Native American chieftain named Black Hawk led a group of Sauk warriors from Iowa Territory east across the Mississippi to reclaim lands they had lost to American squatters when the British withdrew after the War of 1812. He joined up with braves from other tribes including a band of Pottawattamies and attacked American settlers around the Illinois/Wisconsin border, touching off what became known as the Black Hawk War.[112]

President Andrew Jackson sent federal troops to aid the Illinois militia, in which young Abraham Lincoln served as a captain, but never saw action. Another notable participant in the Black Hawk War was John Anglin McIntosh, who later became the missionary who brought Mormonism to the Ross, Smith, and Young families in Gibson, Tennessee. Whether Jacob Mendenhall was too old, or because he was a Quaker, he didn't join the fight, but he lost his 21-year-old son Zadock in the Battle of Rock River. The result of the war was to drive Black Hawk out and to deport his allies, the Pottawattamies, to Iowa, which made more land in western Illinois available for white settlement.

Mendenhall settled about 100 miles south of the scene of his son's death on the east bend of the Mississippi River in the northern region of Hancock County near an abandoned military blockhouse. He found good land along Camp Creek, named after a former stopping place of the militia, around which Pontoosuc Township was plotted in April 1837. Within two years about 200 people settled there, who by the early 1840s had built a small log school house, a post office, and small Baptist and Methodist congregations. Jacob Mendenhall was said to be prosperous and generous, even offering supplies and employment to "destitute Mormons from Missouri, who came begging for the necessities of life."[113] As it turned out, not all of the Mormon refugees were from Missouri.



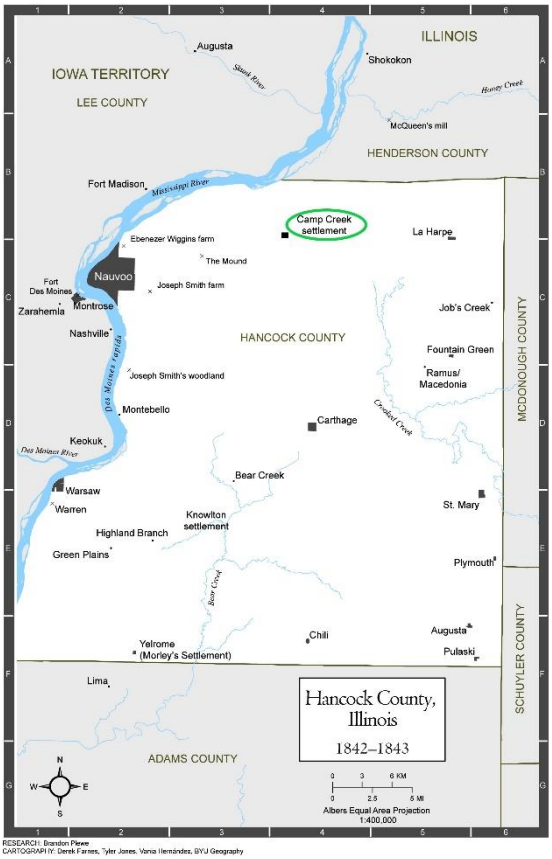
Lebbeus Coons

The Mormon newcomers established Camp Creek Branch on May 1, 1842, under the direction the colorfully named Lebbeus Thaddeus Coons.[114] Coons, who was born in Plymouth, New York in 1811, was baptized by Orson Pratt and Lyman Johnson in November 1832. He moved to Kirtland in 1833 where he took part in Zion's Camp, the aborted effort to protect the Mormons living in Jackson County, Missouri, after which he was called to the First Quorum of Seventy. He studied medicine and practiced in Springfield, Illinois in 1839 and later in Utah. David M. Gamet, who had formerly been converted to

[112] Not to be confused with the Utah Black Hawk War from 1865-1872.
[113] Thomas Gregg, History of Hancock County, Illinois, 1880, p. 943.
[114] Family History Library book 977.343/N1 K2r and The Nauvoo Journal, Vol. 2, October 1990, Number 4, pp 129-132.

Mormonism by Elder Coons, was appointed clerk and carefully recorded the organizational meeting including a list of the charter members of the Camp Creek Branch.

The names of William and Leah Young, Richard Smith,[115] James A. Smith,[116] Thomas Ross,[117] and Rachel Ross are all listed on the membership roster of the branch. The one member of James A. Smith's family in Illinois who did not settle at Camp Creek was Thomas Washington Smith. According to his biography, Thomas Washington settled "across the river from Nauvoo in Iowa." The person who is listed on the branch roster as Leah Smith is almost certainly Rachel Leah Smith Ross (also known variously as Lear or Leer), the daughter of Richard Smith and widow of Andrew Ross, Jr. [118]



Within a week of the arrival of Alfred and William Young in Hancock County, the aforementioned letter sent from Tennessee by John D. Lee accusing them of heresy was published on June 15th in the *Times and Seasons*. The brothers were called before the High Council, and by a majority vote it was decided that the Youngs' work in Tennessee had been done under the influence of the devil. However, the Youngs received support from Brigham Young, who influenced the High Council to restore them to full fellowship a few months later.

In September 1842 the minutes of the Camp Creek Branch chronicled a special session to choose a new presiding elder, as Elder Coons had been called on a mission. Allen Tally was chosen to preside, with Sam Burton as clerk.

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[115] The wives of Richard and James Smith are not listed on the branch roster, nor are the names of many of their children; that is true for many of the other families as well.

[116] Some otherwise well-researched articles in *FamilySearch* on the Smith family claim incorrectly, that based on Hancock County property records, James A. Smith settled in the south of Hancock County in St. Albans Township. While it is true that Nauvoo property records show multiple lots for a James Smith in St. Mary tTownship, which is 12 miles south of Carthage and 22 miles south of Camp Creek, the plots were recorded in 1840, which means they belonged to another James Smith, since James A. Smith didn't arrive from Tennessee until the summer of 1842. The 1840 U.S. census shows two other men named James Smith living in Hancock County.

[117] The Ross family supposedly lived three miles from Nauvoo (DUP History of Thomas Ross by Suzanne Scruggs.), but their names are in the membership records of the Camp Creek Branch, which is actually 16 miles away. They only lived briefly in Nauvoo in the fall of 1845. Thomas was reportedly a bodyguard for Joseph Smith, but if true, that could only have been while the family lived in Camp Creek.

[118] She also used her maiden name of Leah Smith when she later married John Radford.

That spring the Cummings family finally made the trip from Tennessee to Hancock County with five children aged two through ten.[119] They also settled in Camp Creek according to John's biography.[120]

The Prophet Joseph Smith visited Camp Creek occasionally. In his journal on March 21, 1843, he wrote, "Was in the office about 9 writing orders; about noon started with William Clayton for Shokoquon, dined at Bro. Russell's, and then resumed our journey to Libeus (sic) T. Coon's 16 miles when I returned." And three days later: "I took a ride to Camp Creek, met Bro. William Clayton, returned to Libeus T. Coon's where we warmed for an hour and then returned home."[121]

James A. Smith wrote that he was ordained a High Priest in 1844 at Nauvoo by Elder Gould and L T. Coons. This was more likely at Camp Creek since Coons was still the branch president there. (Coons was succeeded by William Gould November 1, 1844.) On April 27 it was agreed that the branch boundaries should be centered at Elder Coons' farm, and that it should claim all members of the Church living within 3.5 miles.

Many men were being called on missions to promote Joseph Smith's presidential campaign mission about this time, but plans changed abruptly when Joseph and Hyrum Smith were imprisoned at Carthage Jail about 13 miles south of Camp Creek. John Cummings, wrote of the occasion, "…the Legion was called out. I, being a member, took my gun for the protection of the prophet Joseph and remained with the Legion until discharged." This may help to support the Ross family's assertion that Thomas took up arms for the Prophet. Margaret R. Whitman added, "Grandaddy Ross was an intimate associate and friend of the Prophet Joseph Smith, and on many occasions was one of his bodyguards when he was being persecuted by mobs." It should be mentioned that many Mormon families make that claim, and none of these Ross writers were eyewitnesses, not having been born yet. Thomas Ross never lived near Nauvoo until Camp Creek was vacated in the fall of 1845, over a year after the martyrdom. However, a man from Camp Creek named William Baldwin was assigned to be on guard for the Prophet at Carthage jail, so this may have been the opportunity for Thomas Ross to be a "bodyguard" as claimed by his son Robert F. and by his daughter Nancy Jane. Richard's son Phillip Lewis Smith testified that he witnessed the murder of Joseph and Hyrum on June 27th when he was 23 years old. If so, he may have been on guard at the jail with William Baldwin.

Margaret Elizabeth Smith, the daughter of William W. and his wife Eliza Mathis, is said to have been born "on the way to Nauvoo" on July 15, 1844. Margaret's biography relates that her mother went into labor during their travel, and her birthplace is given as "North Carthage," Hancock Co. There is no such town, but since Camp Creek is directly north of Carthage and Eliza's brother John Mathis was on the list of late arriving Camp Creek Branch members, it seems reasonable to assume that William and Eliza settled there as well. Eliza is said to have seen the burning of her neighbors' homes in Nauvoo. This is further evidence that they settled at Camp Creek since there was no burning of homes in Nauvoo at that time.

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[119] John and Rachel were baptized by William Young sometime in 1843. Isaac and William were baptized the next year, also by William Young. This baptismal information comes from their membership record in the Provo Branch, recorded in 1852.

[120] The Nauvoo property map shows that John Cummings owned property just east of Nauvoo. Actually, several other Camp Creek settlers also had property in and around Nauvoo, possibly purchased after their eviction from Camp Creek in 1845.

[121] Joseph Smith Papers.

The Rosses saw "the mantle of the prophet" fall upon Brigham Young as he spoke in the Bowery on August 8, 1844, claiming succession in leadership of the Church for the Quorum of the Twelve. The Rosses had driven the 16 miles from Camp Creek in a covered wagon so that Rachel could listen from her bed because she had been ill.[122]

In November Elder Coons resigned, and William Gould was elected by the Camp Creek members to replace him. On March 16, 1845, the minutes show that Elder Coons hadn't gone on his mission after all and was therefore reinstated as president by "the brothren." Following that entry, the names of Robert Kimmons Ross[123] and his wife Jane and also Elizabeth Ross' 19-year-old son John Mathis were entered at the top of a continuation of the membership roster that followed the minutes of that meeting. This suggests that these members of the Ross family had arrived sometime earlier.

In the spring of 1845 Mary Elizabeth Ross, Thomas and Rachel's fourth child, was born "on a small farm on the outskirts of Nauvoo," actually in Camp Creek. Rachel already had three children under ten: nine-year-old James Andrew, six-year-old Peggy Ann, and three-year-old Leah Lucinda. Her fifth child would be born in Iowa.

The last entry in the Camp Creek record was June 29, 1845. That day the branch members were requested to leave their homes and move temporarily to Nauvoo, for plans had been leaked for a mob to attack the settlement. The families moved, but the men returned periodically to care for their farms. On July 10, 1845, while harvesting wheat at Camp Creek, eight of them were surrounded by a mob, severely whipped and robbed of two or three guns.[124] Sporadic attacks also occurred in several of the other outlying Mormon settlements.

Responding to reports of the violence throughout Hancock County, an important meeting of non-Mormons was held at Quincy on September 22nd. Quincy was the formerly pro-Mormon town 46 miles south of Nauvoo, which had sheltered many Mormons in the winter of 1839-40 as they fled from Missouri. Delegates from nine counties—which did not include Hancock—deliberated about the conflict, adopted resolutions advocating Mormon departure, and contacted the Quorum of Twelve Apostles.

Over the next two days, by order of Brigham Young Camp Creek Branch was moved permanently to Nauvoo for protection. The Ross family lore, much of it by descendants living two or more generations later, addresses this situation. Ella Parker Ogden wrote, "While the Ross family were living in or near Nauvoo, the mob set fire to their home. Grandfather was sick with the fever (one account called it malaria) at the time and was carried in a blanket out of the burning house and hid in his cornfield while the home and contents burned to the ground." Another granddaughter, Blanche McMullin Webster wrote: "(Thomas) and oldest daughter Peggy Ann took their furniture from their house and hid it in the cornfield. They feared the mob would be at their home next. Through the mercy of God their home was saved, and they were very grateful." From another of Thomas Ross' biographies: "Thomas was sick and was carried out of his home and hid in his cornfield until the mobs passed." Some accounts claim his

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[122] Ella Parker Ogden, Thomas Ross and Rachel Smith, Thomas Ross MB1L-SMT memories.

[123] Thomas Ross' brother Robert Kimmins Ross had joined the Church in 1843 in Dyer. Thomas' sister Nancy Ross Kilbreth was still in Dyer when her daughter Eunice was born January 8, 1844, but Eunice died in Nauvoo August 30, 1845, so they may have arrived before November 1844, but possibly not at Camp Creek.

[124] Years later, William Young referred to this incident in a talk he gave at a church meeting at Fort Harmony in Washington County, Utah (Willis Young Biography, p. 8.)

home was burned to the ground. Others say he watched his friends' homes burn, but that his house was spared. They all agree that he and his family fled with their possessions to the cornfields to hide from the mobs. John Cummings, who witnessed the attacks with his own eyes wrote, "Although we escaped ourselves from the burning, we saw the fires and smoke of the burning houses of our brethren around us, and from day to day for weeks or months, wagons were sent out from Nauvoo to bring the scattering families in for protection."

The anti-Mormons remembered it differently.

> (The case) of Andrew Daubenheyer was…mysterious and atrocious. Mr. D. resided in the north part of the county (near the Camp Creek settlement) and was known as an active Anti-Mormon. On the 18th of September he started to Carthage with a two-horse wagon. On the evening of the 20th, he started for his home on horseback, which he never reached, but on the morning of the 21st his horse came home without him. On his road home was encamped a body of Mormons, supposed to be of Backenstos' posse, and the belief was that he had been waylaid and killed by them. Search being made, his body was afterward found buried near the place of the encampment.[125]

After the Quorum of Twelve Apostles responded to the representatives of the nine-county meeting in Quincy that they planned to vacate in the spring, the concerned gentile friends held a second gathering at Carthage on October 1-2, 1845. That convention produced a series of resolutions, the first of which accepted the Mormon proposal and recommended that the belligerent non-Mormons acquiesce as well. The delegates also called for a multi-county military organization—which never materialized—to keep peace in Hancock County until the Mormons left.

By General Conference in October the mobbing action had diminished, and Brigham Young instructed some of the brethren to return to the Camp Creek settlement to secure their crops and bring them to Nauvoo, but the mobbing quickly resumed and only part of the crops were salvaged. On October 1, 1845, Brigham Young told Governor Thomas Ford's representatives, who had been sent to keep the peace, that the Mormons planned to leave Nauvoo and settle in the west. A resolution to this effect was adopted unanimously in General Conference on October 6th but acts of arson continued.[126]

Conference was held in the unfinished Nauvoo Temple. The attic story was completed and dedicated at the end of November, and then on December 10th, temple endowments began for small groups and continued steadily day and night including Saturdays until by February 7, 1846, more than five thousand six hundred endowments were performed.

Contemplate the short-term situation of the Camp Creek group: They were homeless, caught up in the push to finish the temple, to receive their sealing ordinances, and to prepare to evacuate by spring. On November 28th John H. Ross, the eight-year-old son of Robert K. and Jane Ross died, likely in temporary housing in Nauvoo. The Tennessee families from Camp Creek had become war refugees.

On February 2, 1846, a man named Charles Shumway ferried his family across the Mississippi in the first wagon to leave Nauvoo in the exodus. He was accompanied by Elijah Averett, who later became a

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[125] History of Hancock County, Th. Gregg, Chicago, 1880, p. 344.

[126] Jorgensen: the Morley Settlement in Illinois 1839-1846, The John Whitmer Historical Association Journal, vol. 32. No. 2 pp. 149-170.

Mormon Battalion member and served as the captain of 50 in which the Ross family later traveled to Utah in 1850. On February 22nd a blizzard left a foot of snow in Nauvoo. Three days later the future apostle, Charles C. Rich, crossed the river on ice. Several dozen wagons crossed the ice during the next few days until warmer weather allowed the rest to be ferried across the Mississippi River and gather in a holding area called Sugar Creek Camp a few miles to the west.

About 17,000 Saints were living in or near Nauvoo when the exodus began. They departed over nearly a year in three distinct groups. The first was known as The Camp of Israel, which included Brigham Young, the apostles, selected competent frontiersmen, and people with the means to readily collect teams and supplies. The role of the Camp of Israel was to blaze a trail to be followed by others and to set up way stations. The group numbered about 500 wagons and 2,500 people.[127]

This group began its 3 ½ month trek to the Missouri River on the first day of March. The weather had again frozen the Mississippi River over, so friends and relatives crossed on the ice and went out six miles to the camp to see them off. They found the assemblage in motion, striking their tents to embark. The Camp of Israel was in good spirits, with President Brigham Young and the Twelve in their midst.

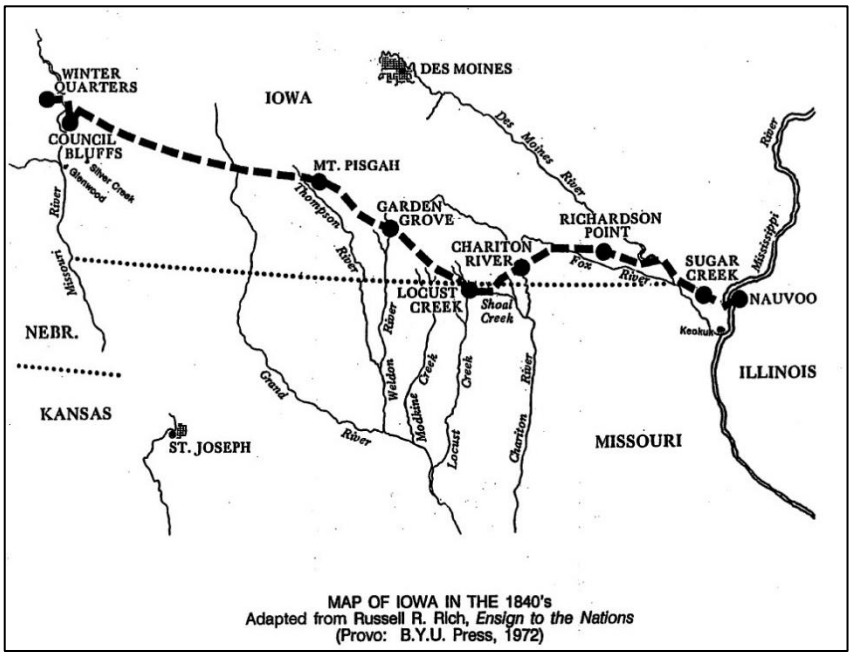
Family records of the Tennessee families lack the specificity to figure out exactly who went in each of the three groups. However, it appears that the extended family of James A. Smith was among the Camp of Israel, constituting a party of 36 people including their daughter Leah with her husband William Young and seven children between one and 17. William Young's brother Alfred and his wife Anna were also with them with her six children ages one through 12. So were the two sons of Alfred's previous wife, Malinda McIntosh, ages 16 and 18. Mary Boren, William and Alfred's mother, with her husband Willis and possibly two married daughters also came, each with a husband and a young child. The Smiths' daughter Rachel traveled with her husband Thomas Ross and their four children: James Andrew, age nine, Peggy Ann, seven, Leah Lucinda, four, and Mary Elizabeth, 12 months. Thomas Washington Smith was there with his new wife, Sarah Ann Boren, their 18 month old daughter Mary Ann, and Robert, the eight-year-old son from his earlier marriage to Mary Ann Ross. William W. Smith brought his wife Eliza Mathis, their seven month old daughter Margaret, and possibly Eliza's unmarried 19-year-old brother John Mathis.

The Camp of Israel reached Richardson's Point, 22 miles beyond Bonaparte, on March 7th and stayed until the 18th, where they built houses and split rails. William Pitt's Nauvoo Band charged the locals for admission to concerts at the schoolhouse and courthouse. The travelers made a prolonged rest stop at the Chariton River Camp from March 22nd to the 31st to reorganize approximately 500 wagons (2,000 families) into six companies of 50 (300 of the 500) to go on ahead. The pioneers then camped at Locust Creek, three miles above the Missouri border until the 15th, where William Clayton composed the words to "Come, Come Ye Saints." From there they turned northward toward Council Bluffs, stopping by the Weldon Fork River's headwaters about 50 miles due south of Des Moines, and called the camp Garden Grove.

There they set up a settlement to support later groups. About 600 people were left behind there, many of whom were sick or ill-equipped for the rest of the journey. But there were also 359 working men,

[127] Hartley, Council Bluffs/Kanesville, 1846-1852, The John Whitmer Historical Association Journal, Vol. 26 (2006), pp. 17-47.

who made rails, built a fence and houses, dug wells, and cleared land. The Garden Grove Mormon settlement continued until 1851.[128]



MAP OF IOWA IN THE 1840's
Adapted from Russell R. Rich, *Ensign to the Nations*
(Provo: B.Y.U. Press, 1972)

In May the vanguard pioneers established Mt. Pisgah as another stopover settlement. They stayed there until June 1st, leaving presiding leaders behind to aid later travelers. Elder William Huntington was appointed the president over temporal and spiritual affairs with Ezra T. Benson and Charles C. Rich as counselors. Work on six houses began. A water mill was erected. Believing that the Great Basin was the ultimate destination that year, most people lived out of wagons, tents, and lean-tos.[129] Later in June an advance party, including some members of the Twelve Apostles, left Mount Pisgah for the Missouri River near Council Bluffs to secure land and prepare for the arrival of the larger group.

The second and largest group to leave Nauvoo is known as "The Spring Exodus," which began after the dedication of the Nauvoo Temple on May 1, 1846, nearly three months after the Camp of Israel had left. The ceremony was attended by about 10,000 people including Orson Hyde, who gave the dedicatory prayer, and Wilford Woodruff. On May 14th, 50 teams and 1,350 individuals left Nauvoo in a week. On May 22nd, the *Bloomington Herald* noted that ferries were running day and night, crossing the Mississippi River 35 times in one 24 hour period. About 7,000 to 8,000 were camped on the hills and prairie opposite Nauvoo.

This group included most of the remaining church leaders, the builders who finished the temple, and many more who had just needed more time to prepare, and they totaled about 12,000 people. They left in small groups, forming several waves of emigrants who arrived at the Missouri River in about a month, mainly following the winter path blazed by the Camp of Israel. Thanks to the work of the first group and improved weather, many of the second group caught up with the Camp of Israel before reaching the

[128] Crandell, Jill N., "Garden Grove, Iowa: From Mormon Way Station to Permanent Settlement, 1846-1852" (2010). Theses and Dissertations. 2375.

[129] When the decision was made by Brigham Young in August to prepare winter quarters and postpone the crossing to the Salt Like Valley, many cabins were built.

Missouri River. Most reached Brigham Young's company by July, although between 2,000 and 3,000 lagged behind, halting temporarily in towns in southeastern Iowa or northern Missouri.[130] Some went down the Mississippi to St. Louis. Lacking food, funds, good wagons, teams, or decent health, many sought housing and jobs, and did not reach the Latter-day Saints' camps at the Missouri River for months or even years.

John and Rachel Cummings wrote that they left Nauvoo in the spring of 1846 "without knowing where they would locate." Since Rachel bore a son on March 26, 1846, at Montrose, Lee, Iowa before they left, they could not have been among the Camp of Israel. Possibly also in the second group were Thomas' brother Robert K. Ross and his family, which included his pregnant wife Jane and seven children between two and 13.

The Camp of Israel reached Council Bluffs on June 16th. By the most fortuitous of coincidences, the arrival of the Saints coincided with the beginning of the departure of the Pottawattamie Indians from western Iowa.

As Iowa Territory moved toward statehood it had become necessary to relocate the Pottawattamies, so on June 5, 1846, the tribe signed a treaty at Trader's Point on the Missouri River for the repurchase of the five-million-acre tract in Iowa upon which they had been located and to move again, this time to Kansas. They had two years to leave, but most of them were gone within a year.[131]

It was just eight days after the treaty was signed opening the land to settlement, that Brigham Young's advanced party reached the Missouri River. George Miller had arrived a day ahead of the main camp and conferred with the trader Peter Sarpy at Trader's Point. The following day the lead pioneer wagons were crossing Mosquito Creek to take positions south of the blockhouse above Sarpy's trading post. While at the camp, Brigham received word that 64 families of Mormons in St. Louis were awaiting teams to take them to join the Saints, with 82 others hoping to follow later.[132]

Over the next several weeks many other wagon trains caught up and joined them, forming an eight-mile long Grand Encampment. President Young set up headquarters on what the Saints called Redemption Hill on the north side of Mosquito Creek about eight miles northeast of Sarpy's store at Traders Point. They erected a bowery for meetings and socials. On June 29th a newly built ferryboat started moving Saints across the Missouri River, some 5,000 total, to Nebraska campsites. Among those who went with Brigham Young into Nebraska Territory were Willis and Mary Boren, and probably also William and Alfred Young and their families.

On July 16, 1846, the Mormon Battalion was mustered into volunteer service under General Kearney's Army of the West and arrived at Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas on August 1.

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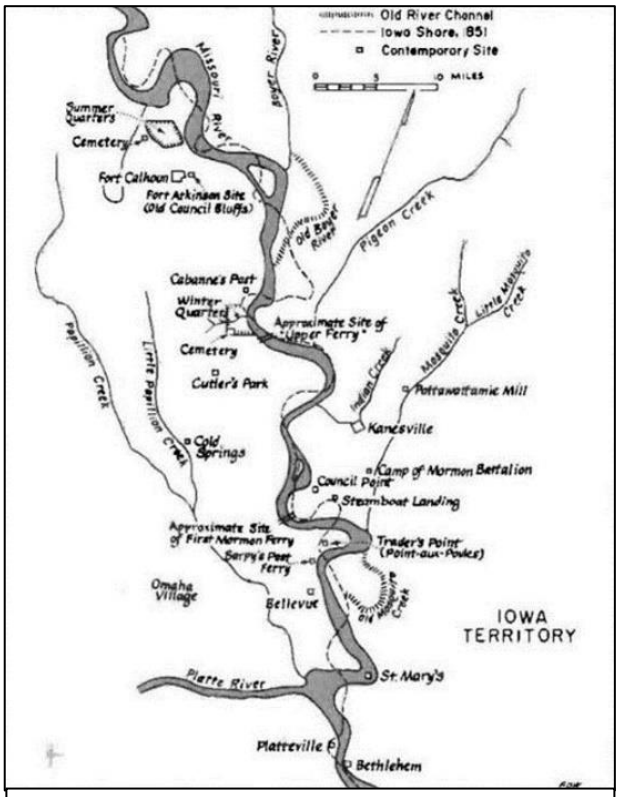
[130] Hartley, William G. "Mormons and Early Iowa History (1838 to 1858): Eight Distinct Connections." The Annals of Iowa 59 (2000), 217-260. https://doi.org/10.17077/0003-4827.10371.

[131] Traders Point, also known as Point-Aux-Poules, was a prosperous trading post near the Missouri River run by Peter (Pierre) Sarpy, the son of Gregoire Sarpy, a prosperous wholesale seed dealer in St. Louis. Sarpy had managed the American Fur Company's trading post fifteen miles away across the Missouri River at Bellevue, Nebraska since 1824. From there he established a ferry across the Missouri and opened up his store and fur operation on the Iowa side among the Indians of that tribe. (Belle Sanford, Genealogy Trails Pottawattamie County, Iowa, http://genealogytrails.com/iowa/pottawattamie/traders_point.htm

[132] Conrey Bryson, Winter Quarters, Deseret Book, 1996.

By early August the Saints on the Nebraska side of the river found a more acceptable campsite on higher ground fourteen miles further north, which they named Cutler's Park after the high council president, Alpheus Cutler. Brigham Young began negotiations with the resident Indians, the warring Omaha and Oto tribes, to settle in the area for at least two years. The Omaha's saw this as protection against their enemies, the Sioux. After the negotiations, the camp was moved a short distance to where Winter Quarters sprang up, Nebraska's first city. It was about this time that President Young gave up his former plan for the Saints to migrate to the Rocky Mountains that year.



Courtesy of Richard E. Bennett, Mormons at the Missouri, 1846-1852 "And Should We Die."

Most of the immigrants in the first two groups remained on the Iowa side of the river. James A. Smith and his extended family probably settled somewhere near the main gathering, which soon became known as Kanesville. The immigrants fanned out over the surrounding territory among the remaining Pottawattamies on the east side of the Missouri River during the winter of 1846-7, living in shacks of cottonwood, caves in the bluffs, log cabins in the groves and glens--wherever there was shelter, fuel, and water, scattering up and down Mosquito Creek, Indian Creek, Keg Creek, Silver Creek, Pigeon Creek, and their tributary streams. Advance payments from the government for the Mormon Battalion were pooled and then spent for food and other supplies for the population. The Church sent pick-up teams to St. Louis for these purchases. Prices were high and freighting costs still higher. In towns down the Missouri River there was much trading for food in exchange for baskets and other products produced by the settlers. Even with trade, diet in the camp consisted mainly of corn bread, salt bacon and a little milk, with occasional fresh game or killed oxen. Fresh vegetables were lacking, and many suffered from scurvy, known to them as "blackleg."

Robert Kimmons Ross settled briefly in Kanesville, where his daughter Rachel was born on August 23, 1846. His biography states, "They moved to Iowa with the other Mormons, preparing to go to Utah. He claims the Lord talked to him and told him he was going the wrong way, so he turned around and took his family back to Missouri."[133]

[133] Rachel's death certificate gives her birthplace as Mound City, Missouri on this date, and Find a Grave and the 1870 census also give her birthplace as Missouri. However, Iowa is given as her birthplace in the census of 1880, 1900, 1910, and 1920, which is the location that I favor. This is supported by the statement in the biography of her sister Nancy Ann Ross that she moved with her parents to Iowa, where they lived until 1847, when they moved to Mound City. They may have moved to Missouri even later than that, since one Robert K. Ross story claims that he withdrew from Iowa just before the Aaron Johnson wagon train left with his brother for Utah, which would have

Although they had started out in May, the Cummings family did not arrive at Kanesville until the fall of 1846. They remained there for two years and then moved to Gallen's Grove, where they lived for another three years about five miles north of Kanesville.

On September 19, 1846 Brigham and the Twelve surveyed 60 lots at Winter Quarters. The Council voted on September 22nd that the excavations for dwellings be dug eight feet deep on the stream bank end of each lot, and Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball selected their own lots. All the entries in Willard Richards' journal after September 28th were written from Winter Quarters, and by then everyone on the west side of the Missouri River was moving into the new settlement.

Meanwhile, things were not going at all well for the third group of Saints who were still in Nauvoo.

On September 12th, angry mobs attacked and invaded the city. Emma Smith fled that day by river to Fulton, Illinois, where she joined relatives and friends. Lucy Mack Smith also left and spent the winter with relatives in Knoxville, Illinois. The attack continued for several days until an agreement was reached that every Mormon would leave Nauvoo except five men and their families, who were allowed to stay to sell the remaining property. This third group, known as the Fall Exodus, consisted mostly of poor people who simply lacked the means to secure a wagon, draft animals, and sufficient food to carry them 300 miles.

On September 15th four prayer circles were held in the Nauvoo Temple petitioning for deliverance. Two days later the Carthage Greys entered the city, and "roamed around town ordering off families in two hours, and the sick were treated with cruelty" while some families were molested "while burying their dead."[134] The mob entered the temple and defaced it, tearing horns and ears from the golden oxen, but did not destroy it, believing it be valuable to them.

Richard and Diana Smith were among this third group of 640 Saints who fled for their lives that fall. The Smiths crossed the Mississippi River and joined a large group at Sugar Creek, taking their unmarried children: Phillip Lewis, age 24, John, 21, Thomas, 20, James Agee, 16, William, 14, Ephraim, 12, Nancy, 10, Adam, eight, Sarah, six, and Newell, five. Also with them were their married daughter Rachel Leah and her husband, John Whitlock Radford[135] whom she had married shortly before the dedication of the Nauvoo Temple. She was by this time five months pregnant with their first child and had two boys from her earlier marriage to Andrew Jackson Ross, who were four and six. Richard Smiths' daughter Rebecca and her husband Melvin Ross were likely also with them along with their four children: James Jackson, aged nine, Isaac, eight, Emma, three, and Sarah Josephine, one month old.[136]

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been in June 1850. But the family was in Holt Missouri for the 1850 census on August 22nd. Robert K. Ross never left western Missouri.

[134] Journal History, 17 September 1846.

[135] John Whitlock Radford and Rachel Leah Smith Ross were married in Nauvoo on April 6, 1846, by John Daley, possibly in the unfinished Nauvoo temple. Witnesses were H. Severe and J. McBride. John was said to be 5'11" in height, weighed 155 pounds, and was of thin or average build. He had a florid complexion, brown hair and hazel eyes. Leah was 5"4" tall, weighed 150 pounds, was of average build with a light complexion, brown hair and dark brown eyes.

[136] I have no proof that Rebecca and Melvin left Nauvoo with Richard's group, but it seems likely because they ended up together in Mt. Pisgah. Sarah Josephine's birth is given in *FamilySearch* as August 1846 at Wright Township, Pottawattamie, Iowa. This is problematic. First, although there is currently a Wright Township in Pottawattamie County, not even the Camp of Israel had reached it by May. However, there is another Wright

Other Gibson County Saints among these refugees were John and Nancy Ross Kilbreth. Nancy was pregnant with her sixth child, the only one to survive—she had lost four in Tennessee and one in Nauvoo. The Kilbreths only managed to make it as far as Bonaparte, Iowa, 25 miles from Nauvoo, where Nancy Roanna was born in January 1847. Their next two children were born in nearby Lee County, Iowa. It would be many years before Nancy and Roanna made it to Utah.

A large number of the late group were sick or injured, and there was a severe shortage of food and other supplies. The generous citizens of Quincy delivered provisions to a large group of Mormon poor that were camped on the west bank of the Mississippi at Potter's Slough near Montrose.[137] During the following weeks, the mass of beleaguered refugees gradually dissipated, moving into nearby Iowa settlements, downriver to St. Louis, into nearby states, westward by their own means, or westward in the two rescue wagon trains sent from the main camps.

Word of the Battle of Nauvoo reached Brigham Young on September 23rd, just a day after Winter Quarters was officially established, and he dispatched 12 teams to rescue the refugees, hoping to help them make their way to Garden Grove or Mt. Pisgah. But despite making the 300 mile trip in just 16 days, by the time the relief party arrived at Sugar Creek on October 9th they found that many of the refugees had already moved out. The remaining Saints including the Richard Smith party were found to be in dire condition. Thomas Bullock, the Church clerk, wrote, "Not a tent or wagon but sickness in it." Then a miracle occurred. Large flocks of exhausted migrating quail appeared in the camp and settled onto their tents and wagons, providing much-needed sustenance. Richard's son Thomas mentioned that experience in his autobiography.[138]

The rescue wagons led by James Allen headed west loaded with refugees. A few more joined at Bonaparte, totaling 28 wagons with 157 people. The group reached Mount Pisgah on November 27th, leaving some Saints there and delivered the rest at Kanesville. Mary Fielding Smith and her family were among the few who made it all the way to the Missouri River that year.

James Murdock and Allen Taylor followed with 25 more teams, and most of their refugees were settled for the winter at Garden Grove. Many of the rest of the refugees found temporary work and lodging in eastern Iowa as the Cummings and Kilbreths had done.

In the meantime, William W. Smith and Eliza Mathis had their second child, William Robert Smith, on November 25, 1846, at Miller's Hollow.[139] This is a clue to where the James A. Smith family first settled in Iowa. Ten days later Leah Smith Young gave birth to a son named Francis Marion Young, probably in Winter Quarters. And then on December 16th Margaret Jane was born to Thomas Washington Smith

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Township in Wayne County, Iowa that is 26 miles east of Garden Grove and near the Mormon Trail. No Ross family is known to have lived in Garden Grove (see Crandell, Jill N., "Garden Grove, Iowa: From Mormon Way Station to Permanent Settlement, 1846-1852." Appendix 3, pp. 108-120), but it seems possible that Melvin and Rebecca had left before the Battle of Nauvoo and were picked up by Richard Smith on the way to Mount Pisgah. Another problem is that Sarah Josephine was listed as five years old in the first U.S. census in Utah, which was counted around March 1851, which means her birthday had to be before March 1846. If this is true, she was born in Nauvoo, or the Melvin Ross family dropped out of the Camp of Israel in the winter of 1846 in Wright Township.

[137] Kenneth W. Godfrey, The Battle of Nauvoo Revisited, John Whitmer Historical Association journal, 2002 Nauvoo Conference, pp 133-146.

[138] Thomas C. Smith KWJD-KPP *FamilySearch* memories, DUP history.

[139] The name was changed to Kanesville in 1848, and later to Council Bluffs.

and Sarah Boren at Miller's Hollow, their second child. All three of these children were conceived on the trail from Nauvoo.

During the winter of 1846-47 the Mormon refugees were severely scattered. About 5,000 lived in Winter Quarters. There were about 500 in each of the settlements of Garden Grove, Pisgah, and also the Ponca Camp far north of Winter Quarters. About 500 were in the Mormon Battalion. There were also about 1,500 in St. Louis. Some of these had escaped Nauvoo by boat down the Mississippi, and others were new converts arriving from Europe. The rest were scattered across eastern Iowa settlements and in Illinois towns. Assuming that there had once been 17,000 inhabitants around Nauvoo, there may have been 8,500 scattered around Pottawattamie County by the spring of 1847.

The Richard Smith party did not travel from Sugar Creek Camp in the rescue wagons but set out on their own. Richard's son Phillip wrote that it took his family four months to reach Mount Pisgah, having stopped for a time in Farmington, Iowa on the Des Moines River. John and Leah Radford had gotten as far as Agency, Wapello, Iowa when their first daughter Nancy Jane was born January 14, 1847, only 40 miles beyond Bonaparte. This was 80 miles short of Garden Grove, and 120 miles from Mount Pisgah where they finally joined the rest of the Smith family.

The names of 63 people who died at Mount Pisgah are known, but there may have been many more. The winter of 1846-47 was particularly harsh, with temperatures dropping to as low as -13.[140] The presiding officer William Huntington, who died in August 1846 after suffering from ten days of chills and fever, was replaced by Coleman Boren, the uncle of William and Alfred Young.[141] Coleman Boren probably knew Richard Smith and may have influenced Richard's decision to settle his family at Mount Pisgah rather than continue. The Radfords soon re-joined the Smith family there.

That winter a log tabernacle was built at Millers Hollow. Brigham Young spent that winter and the early springtime putting together his vanguard party to move west as soon as the weather permitted, and on April 14, 1847, they left Winter Quarters bound for the Great Basin, famously arriving there July 24th.

During the next year and a half, the Gibson County families who were not in Pisgah made homes in Kanesville and the surrounding settlements. John Mathis married Sarah Ann Dowdle in Big Pigeon on September 11, 1847.

There were about 40 branches of the Church and about 90 settlements in Pottawattamie County. Pairs of traveling elders preached to the branches every two weeks. General conferences were held twice a year. Many of these branches were simply handfuls of families by a grove or a stream. Most of the settlers were farmers, but others were craftsmen such as basket makers. Surplus products were sold down the Missouri River in exchange for supplies.

After Brigham Young returned from Utah in the fall of 1847 to organize the massive immigration for the next spring, the remaining Saints began to evacuate Winter Quarters. The U.S. Government had imposed a two-year limit on the settlement because it was on Indian Territory, and the agreement expired in January 1848. The inhabitants were told to move either to Utah or back to Iowa before May.

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[140] Alexander L. Baugh, *Deseret News*, Jan 11, 1997.

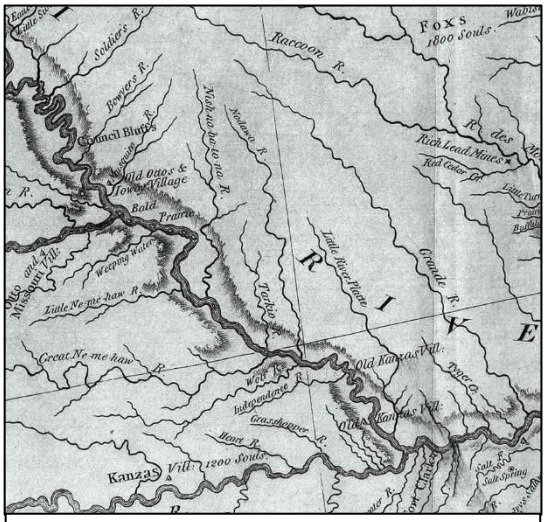
[141] Coleman Boren was a younger brother to Mary Boren, mother of William and Alfred Douglas Young and also to Susannah Boren, former wife of John Anglin McIntosh, the missionary who had converted many of the Gibson County converts.

Church Headquarters had moved from Winter Quarters to Kanesville by the time conference was held in the new log tabernacle in December 1847. Mary Boren is said to have died at Winter Quarters. Given the fact that her husband Willis Boren married Mary Sampson on February 28, 1848, if the dates and places are correct, both events occurred while Winter Quarters was closing up.

Two families of Gibson County Mormons were still living in Tennessee. Eventually they came directly to Iowa, totally bypassing Nauvoo, likely by steamboat up the Mississippi to St. Louis and then up the Missouri to Kanesville. One of these families was headed by William F. Smith, the oldest of the Smith brothers. He arrived in Iowa in late 1847. The other Tennessee family was Isaac Mathis and his wife Elizabeth, an older sister of Thomas Ross, who were still living with their younger children in Iron City, Lawrence County, Tennessee. They would not arrive in Iowa for two more years.

Chapter Six-- Iowa and The Shirtses Branch

The Boyer River[142] is a tributary of the Missouri River in western Iowa which Lewis and Clark mapped in 1804. The great explorers named it Bowyer's River after John Bowyer, a British fur trader who had lived in the area in the early 1800s and may have met the great discoverers.[143]



Lewis and Clark 1804 map

The 118 mile long Boyer River enters the Missouri River about 14 miles north of Kanesville, flowing from the northeast to discharge into the Missouri River six miles beyond the end of its own valley. Where that valley spreads into the broad Missouri Valley, William F. Smith and his extended family settled in the spring of 1848.

A handful of other Mormons were already in the general area including Daniel Brown, a member of Brigham Young's 1846 party from Nauvoo, who settled in Florence, Nebraska. After "having trouble" with the prophet he left the Mormons that fall and found a spot to his liking about eight miles up the Willow River, a branch of the Boyer, built a log cabin in January 1847, and brought his family from Winter Quarters to live with him in the spring. Another Mormon named Lewis Barney and his brothers settled briefly in what was to become Cass Township about 15 miles to the east. But according to local historians,[144] no white man had ever lived in what is now St. John's Township (St. John's Township came into existence in 1853 when Harrison County was organized) until the spring of 1848, when William F. Smith and his son-in-law John Reynolds settled in what became known as "Tennessee Hollow" on the township's southern border.

William F. Smith, the oldest of the Smith brothers, and his wife Elizabeth came directly from Gibson County, Tennessee to Kanesville around the end of 1847 with six of their nine daughters and their only son, Charles Washington Smith. Charles' wife, Mary Canady, had died in Gibson County, but he brought their two boys, Robert and James, who were three and four years old. William F. and Elizabeth's three oldest girls were married and remained in Tennessee, but their daughter Martha and her husband John Reynolds came with a nine-year-old girl and a four-year-old son. The five unmarried Smith daughters--Sarah, Leah, Hannah, Melinda, and Disa—also came. It is not certain how long William's family was in Pottawattamie County before they settled in Tennessee Hollow, but they were probably in the vicinity of

[142] Various spellings of Boyer River and its valley encountered in family genealogies include Beyor, Baro, Bonou, Banou, Little Bewie, Little Berhya, Bongo, Boyat, Bowow, Bouyauer, Bonnie Bottoms, and Bayou.
[143] Not much is known about John Bowyer. He is believed to have been born in England in the late 1700s, and he came to North America in search of furs, eventually settling in the area of the Boyer River, where he built a trading post to do business with the local Native American tribes. He died in the early 1820s.
[144] History of Harrison County, National Publishing Company, 1891.

Miller's Hollow when William signed the petition[145] asking that the federal government create Pottawattamie County and set up a post office[146] in the Log Tabernacle.

General Conference was held in Kanesville on April 6th, five days after Thomas Washington Smith, son of James A. Smith, married Susan Reynolds as a polygamous second wife. Susan was the widow of Thomas' stepbrother, William George Stephens, who had died in Gibson County eight years earlier. She and her two boys, now 17 and seven years old, may have traveled with Thomas and his father from Nauvoo, or more recently with William F. Smith and her former husband's brother Adam Stephens.

Around this time William F. Smith moved with his extended family 18 miles north to Tennessee Hollow as soon as spring weather allowed. They were joined there by his brother James A. Smith with his wife Margaret and the families of two of his adult children: Rachel with her husband Thomas Ross and their four children ages three to eleven, and Thomas Washington with his ten-year-old son Robert, his second wife Sarah Boren with their three-year-old daughter Mary Ann, and his newly married polygamous wife Anna Reynolds and her two sons. Notably absent was the youngest Smith brother, Richard Smith, who remained at Mount Pisgah. Willis Boren, stepfather of William and Alfred Young, came to Tennessee Hollow with his new wife, Mary Sampson. Other members of the Boren, Reynolds, and Stephens families related to William F. Smith also came. But not all who came to Tennessee Hollow were family members, and not all were from Tennessee.

[145] There were about 1,800 signers of the petition (about 20% of all Mormons in Iowa) and it appears they were not all from Kanesville, so it can't reliably give location. (Maurine Carr Ward and Fred E. Woods, The "Tabernacle Post Office" Petition for the Saints of Kanesville, Iowa Mormon Historical Studies, Spring 2004, Vol. 5, No. 1.)

[146] Evan M. Greene, Brigham Young's 34-year-old nephew was appointed postmaster on February 7, 1848. The post office was named "Kane" after Thomas Kane, the friend of the Mormons, and it was located in Miller's Hollow, which was immediately renamed Kanesville.

The most notable of these were Peter Shirts and his wife Margaret.[147]

Peter Shirts

I have not been able to discover exactly where James A. Smith's family had lived since their arrival in Iowa nearly two years earlier, but it was probably initially in Miller's Hollow. Two of his sons, Thomas Washington and William W., signed the post office petition, and next to William's name was written "of Buoyo," which was a settlement north of Kanesville at the mouth of the Boyer River about seven miles south of Tennessee Hollow. This may be a clue to the location of his parents and the rest of the Ross family.[148] Perhaps Buoyo's proximity to Tennessee Hollow is not coincidental.

A branch of the Mormon Church was organized in Tennessee Hollow on June 4, 1848. The following minutes were recorded by Willis Boren, who was appointed branch clerk that day.[149]

> *Be it known that this day and date We the members of the following Branch of the Church of Jesus Christ of Laterday Saints being located in Potawatima Co. & about 18 miles North of Kanesville and remote from other Branches of the Church have meet togeather this day and organized ourselves as folloes in a branch cald Shirtses[150] Branch and after opening meeting in the usual order prceeded and nominatet Brother Thomas W. Smith as president of said Branch Which was a unanimous Votee. Bro Peter Shirts was in the same way appointed as first counciler & Bro William Niswanger his 2nd Counciler & Willis Boren Clerk for said branch and Bro Thomas Ross Priest for said branch and William W Smith Teacher for said Branch.*

The very next day in Kanesville, Alfred Douglas Young left with his wife Anna and seven children for the Salt Lake Valley with the Heber C. Kimball Company, the first of the Gibson County group to go. He and his brother William had built cabins together at Winter Quarters, but Brigham Young assigned William to stay behind and work in Kanesville as a wheelwright, constructing and repairing wagon wheels to aid later immigrant parties to Utah. William Young moved his plural wife Anna Reynolds and her daughter Polly Ann to the Shirtses Branch to be with her relatives, and he made frequent visits there and stayed in

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[147] Peter Shirts was born in Ohio in 1808 and joined the Mormons in Kirtland in 1833. He experienced the expulsion from Missouri and served as an officer in the Nauvoo Legion. When the Camp of Israel left, he remained in Nauvoo to complete the temple. One biography mentions that he was driven from Nauvoo, which suggests that he left with the late group in October 1846. He is said to have arrived in Iowa in 1848. He may have arrived earlier, for he signed the post office petition on January 18, 1848. Later in Utah, Peter Shirts helped to settle several locations and will be mentioned in future chapters.

[148] Thomas and William's brother-in-law John Mathis and his wife were listed the following year in the Iowa census next to her parents, who are known to have lived in Buoyo.

[149] The following is a transcription of the original document by John Radford, who became branch clerk in May 1850, when Willis Boren was promoted to the office of bishop. The original document has been lost, but Radford's transcription and his own later entries can be accessed at the Church History Library, Shirts Branch Record, 1848-1851, call number LR 12606 21.

[150] The word "Shirtses" was inserted later into the transcription in a large blank space with a different color of ink and underlined, suggesting that Radford had to research it. In one Boren family biography it is called Union Branch.

touch with the Gibson County group there. He is said to have also married Drusilla Boren, a niece of Willis Boren, after the death of her husband, Nathan Keller in Shirtses Branch in 1848.[151]

The new Shirtses Branch met for the second time on June 11th and resolved to meet next week "and partake of the Lord's Supper and continue the same every four weeks." The branch met faithfully every week—it was partaking of the sacrament that they continued monthly.

The branch minutes often mention the Rocky Ford (Rockford) Branch,[152] their nearest neighbor. On July 15th Peter Shirts was appointed to visit Rocky Ford Branch the next sabbath to look for a place for a school house. Shirts and James A. Smith were appointed to attend Rocky Ford branch again a few weeks later, and the November 26th minutes noted that Shirtses Branch was "visited by Bro. Yearsley[153] and Bro. P. Smith from Rocky Ford Branch who each gave us a good lecture."

General conference was held twice a year in Kanesville, and at least some of the members of Shirtses Branch likely attended, as there was no branch meeting held on October 8, 1848, the opening day of conference. Four hundred parked wagons surrounded the Log Tabernacle in Kanesville, and 2,500 people attended the meetings.

James Agee Smith

Nancy Jane Ross was born on December 11, 1848 in Tennessee Hollow[154] to Thomas and Rachel. She was blessed on March 25, 1849, by "P.K. Smith"[155] according to the Shirtses Branch minutes. Two days later Nancy's double cousin Emily Jane Smith was born to William W. and Eliza Mathis Smith. For the family of James A. Smith, the winter was likely spent in preparation for their exodus to Utah. Minutes for the Shirtses Branch that spring report that "letters of recommend" were issued for a move to the Valley for William W. Smith and his parents, James A. and Rachel Smith.

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[151] See his memorial in Find a Grave. However, there is also evidence from the writing of Drusilla's children that the Kellers traveled together to California in 1851 with their children and that Nathan died in San Bernardino around 1854. Nathan was named as an heir in his father's will on September 2, 1854. Drusilla was sealed to both William Young and Nathan Keller in the Endowment House in Salt Lake City, which supports the first scenario, as does the fact that Drusilla and William had a child together on April 24, 1854. Drusilla left William and married Benjamin Val Leuven December 2, 1856.

[152] Rockford is a township just across the border between Harrison and Pottawattamie Counties.

[153] David Yearsley was a Quaker merchant of considerable wealth, who after hearing from missionaries went by steamboat to Nauvoo and was baptized personally in the Mississippi River by Joseph Smith in 1841. The next year he moved his family to Nauvoo and managed the prophet's red brick store. He served as bishop of the Twelfth Ward in Winter Quarters and moved to Rocky Ford when Winter Quarters was evacuated in 1848. That year he was chosen a commissioner of the new Pottawattamie County. He died a year later of pneumonia at Rocky Ford.

[154] Alert: Beginning with the next chapter Nancy will become the central character for the rest of this story. Her birthdate of December 11, 1848 is said to be written in the McMullin family Bible. It is the date given in her biography written by her granddaughter Blanche McMullin Webster, Nancy's obituary, and her death certificate. At the time she was born, Tennessee Hollow was in Pottawattamie County. Most pedigrees erroneously give Harrison County as her birthplace, but Harrison County was created from the north part of Pottawattamie County in 1851, and the new county's government wasn't organized until March 7, 1853.

[155] This might be Peter Klingensmith, who left for Utah the following month and was an early settler of Manti. He later moved to Cedar City where he was the first bishop and a participant in the Mountain Meadows massacre.

James A. Smith and his extended family set out for the Valley from Kanesville on May 18, 1849, with the Samuel Gully/Orson Spencer Company. William W. Smith took his wife Eliza and two girls aged two and five. James A. and Rachel's oldest daughter Leah, her husband William Young, and five children aged two through 20 were also members of the company of 320 people. Leah was pregnant, and the family was still grieving the death of eight-year-old Squire who had died three months earlier in Kanesville.[156]

It was a difficult trip for the Smiths, and many of their company died of cholera, especially in the first weeks including Captain Samuel Gully himself. Reuben Miller's trail diary[157] mentioned the Smiths and Youngs several times. He noted that the three families were in the same group of 10 wagons. James A. and Margaret were listed as a party of three, which suggests that their 11-year-old grandchild, Robert Adam Smith may have been with them.[158] William W. Smith's family is listed as a party of "six souls" and two wagons, although there were only four in his family, suggesting that one or two of Leah and William Young's children may have traveled with him and helped to drive. On the evening of August 1st[159] Leah gave birth to William Alma Young Jr. in her covered wagon, and three weeks later her two-year-old son Francis Marion died. While being handed down from a moving wagon, he was run over by a front and a rear wheel. He died about eight hours later and was buried the next day on Sweetwater Bottom where the wagon road left the North Platte River 769 miles from Winter Quarters as measured by the company's odometer. According to one family account, seven-year-old Margaret Smith (a daughter of William W. Smith) had a similar accident but with a happier outcome when she fell under the back wheels while playing in the wagon, her father seeing her too late to prevent the fall. He thought she was dead when he picked her up, but she recovered when the elders administered to her, and she lived to be an old lady.[160] Upon arrival in the Valley, the Smiths settled initially in the Big Cottonwood area.

Soon after his father and brother left for Deseret, Thomas Washington Smith's wife, Sarah Boren, had her third child, Joseph Helaman Smith at Tennessee Hollow. According to the branch minutes, Thomas gave "many good remarks" the following Sunday, July 1, 1849, after which he turned the podium over to newly arrived John Radford, who "gave an exhortation.[161] Then brother Radford presented a letter of

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[156] William's second wife, Anna Reynolds, remained in Shirtses Branch with her 13-year-old daughter Polly Ann until 1850, when she came to Utah, probably with the Aaron Johnson Company in June 1850. She is not listed in the Overland Trail Index, but she and Polly Ann were living with John and Rachel Leah Radford in Provo in the 1850 census about three houses away from Melvin Ross. Anna got a divorce from William Young and married Nathaniel Riggs on January 19, 1852. Polly ended up marrying their next door neighbor William Penrod in Provo in 1853.
[157] Reuben was clerk of the Orson Spencer Company and later became bishop of the Mill Creek Ward in Utah.
[158] Robert was the only child of Mary Ann Ross, the first wife of Thomas Washington Smith. He was living with Robert and Margaret in the 1850 census in Shirtses Branch. Robert Adam Smith is not listed in the Overland Travel Database.
[159] Family stories and pedigrees give the date August 3, 1849, but Miller's diary should be considered a primary source. He mentioned the birth and also described the death of Francis Marion (he calls him James Marion).
[160] Elias Smith, Thomas Washington Smith (1815-1892), posted on *Ancestry.com*.
[161] John Radford was already well known to the Smith and Ross families. His wife Rachel Leah was a cousin to the branch president and also to William W. Smith and Rachel Ross. She was also the widow of Thomas Ross' brother. John Radford's reason to leave Mount Pisgah and his wife's family to travel 120 miles to Tennessee Grove and the Shirtses Branch is not clear, as the general evacuation of Pisgah didn't begin for another year. Perhaps his two stepchildren, James Richard and Melvin Ross, wanted to be closer to their uncle Thomas Ross, who had three children of similar ages.

recommendation for himself and family which certified that he was a member in good standing of the branch at Mt. Pisgah, after which Bro. Radford and family was received in this branch."

A month later on July 29, 1849, the Shirtses Branch held a conference in which new officers were sustained. The newly arrived John Radford was nominated to the office of first counselor to Thomas W. Smith,[162] replacing Peter Shirts. Willis Boren resigned as clerk and William Batson was appointed to fill the vacancy.

Thomas Washington Smith

Willis Boren had been an incompetent clerk, but as it turned out, William Batson was much worse. John Radford had served as first counselor to Thomas W. Smith for nine months when Willis Boren was named bishop of the Shirtses Branch in March 1850. Radford was re-assigned as clerk and began the process of pulling together the haphazard records of the previous two years. He began with the following:

> Brethren it appears that we have been neglectful about our record ever since Br. Willis Boren resigned his office and Br. Batson appointed his successor, but it appears that Br. Batson for some cause did not take hold and act as clerk, neither did he even call for the book. Consequently, I find but little matter of recourse from that time to the first of March 1850 at which time I was appointed to that office and in consequence of having to bring up the rear since June 4, 1848, which is mostly in scraps and heaps overhead and pencil notes… It is a busy time for me[163] and my education is limited and I not a penman…but I will now return to the subject again and gather up all the scraps that I can find and see what I can make of them. I consider it not necessary to make everything a matter of record in the old book. I find many things recorded that has no date that I consider matters of importance such as blessing and baptizing children and I shall copy such things as I think of importance the best way that I can and return the old record.

My thanks go to Brother Radford, who would only serve as clerk for two months, but made this chapter possible. Into his notebook he transcribed the scattered notes of his two predecessors (as related in the earlier pages), and then wrote a summary[164] of the branch membership, from which the following is drawn.

Willis Boren was the bishop. The branch had included three high priests until James A. Smith's recent departure to the Valley, leaving only William Niswanger[165] and William Batson.[166] After William W. Smith

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[162] Both men were Nancy Ross' uncles. Thomas W. Smith was her mother's brother and Radford was married to her father's sister.

[163] The "busy time" that Radford mentioned is partly explained by his biographer, Leon Pitman: "…they (the Radfords in Shirtses Branch) grew crops for the Mormon migrations then underway."

[164] From census data and references in other parts of the branch record it is clear that this summary is only a partial list.

[165] Niswander had been an officer in the Nauvoo legion.

[166] Batson was a 57-year-old widower. His wife, a son, and a daughter had died in Nauvoo.

left with his father, the remaining seventies were Thomas Washington Smith, Willis Boren, Peter Shirts, Thomas Ross and John Radford. Two other seventies had moved to other locations in Iowa: Garrett W. Mikesell[167] had moved down the Boyer River to Buoyo, and James H. Heath[168] moved to Ferryville and eventually to Kanesville to build wagons for the trail. The elders living in Tennessee Grove were John Price and James Wilkins. At this point there were 20 adult male members remaining in the branch and 41 women, of whom about half were from the Gibson County group. Seventeen children were listed as over eight years of age, and 21 who were under eight and had been blessed in the branch.

For the next two months there was no more transcription but instead, a detailed first person account of weekly meetings. I'll just summarize a few.

On March 24th the congregation met at Rocky Ford at 10 o'clock, and then returned to their own meeting house for evening worship--the two settlements were fairly close together. Two brethren visiting from church headquarters named Isaac Allred and William Hyde "cited" Peter Shirts for not attending meetings regularly due to differences between him and Thomas W. Smith. The branch voted to keep Shirts in fellowship, but he responded that he would only attend when he pleased. They met the next Sunday for conference, where Brother Allred preached.[169] No meeting was held on April 24th on account of hauling Brother (Thomas Washington) Smith's steer home. On May 19th John Radford, the clerk, led the meeting and then asked for a letter of recommendation from the branch, receiving it unanimously. He was planning to meet up with his father-in-law Richard Smith and his Ross relatives from Mount Pisgah and head for Zion. On May 26th Thomas Ross also requested a letter of recommendation for himself and his family, which was granted by vote of the branch.

On June 2, 1850 and thereafter the minutes were written in different handwriting. The Thomas Ross family and the Radfords had left. Without requesting a recommend, Peter Shirts and his family had also left for Zion.

Now let us catch up on the Smith and Ross families at Mount Pisgah whom the Radfords had left a year earlier.

In the severe winter of 1847 when the John Radford, Richard Smith, and Melvin Ross families settled at Mount Pisgah, it was not a waystation to them, but a semipermanent home. No details are available for

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[167] Mikesell had been part of the "standing police" in Nauvoo with Hosea Stout in 1846 and came to Iowa with the Camp of Israel. He lived some time at Mt. Pisgah and then worked on the Missouri River ferry until Brigham Young called him to work on the Florence Mill at Winter Quarters.

[168] From Heath's autobiography: In the spring (1847) moved up on the Bowow, (up the Boyer river to Tennessee Grove) where my wife Mariah took sick, and it was thought she would die. So, I went and got Billy Young (William Young) to administer to her…. (she got well.)

[169] Isaac Allred was the 37-year-old son of James Allred, the founding pioneer of Spring City, Utah. Isaac had served in Zions Camp, experienced the violence in Missouri and Nauvoo, and completed a successful mission. During the exodus from Nauvoo, he dropped out at Garden Grove, lacking resources to move on. Two years later Brigham Young learned of his plight and sent him the means to join his family at Allred's Camp, where he was elected constable when Pottawattamie County was created in 1848. He was appointed by the Council to travel with Elder Hyde to preach to the branches, which led him to move his two wives and 11 children to Shirtses Branch that summer. He eventually emigrated and joined his father's family in Spring City, Utah. He was killed on May 25, 1859, at Pleasant Creek in Sanpete County by Thomas Ivie in a quarrel over his job herding Ivie's sheep.

the first nine months of their stay, but we know that in January 1848, Richard Smith's 18-year-old son James Agee (so named for his uncle) was baptized by Coleman Boren,[170] a relative of the Gibson County Young family and president of the branch.[171]

John Braswell Smith, Richard's 23-year-old son, married a gentile girl named Frances Jane Clark in Monroe County, just west of Mt. Pisgah on February 14, 1848. The couple did not live at Mount Pisgah after their marriage.[172]

Rachael Leah and John Radford had their second child, Catherine Elizabeth Radford, on December 10, 1848, who was later blessed by James Sloane.[173] Probably about the same time, the Radfords' older child Nancy Jane, by then two years old, was blessed by Edwin Whiting.[174]

On March 4, 1849, Richard and Dianna's oldest son Phillip (age 29) married Elizabeth Ann Frampton, a Mormon girl whom he had known in Nauvoo. It was three months later that the Smiths' daughter Rachel Leah left with her husband John Radford for the Shirtses Branch along with the two sons of her earlier marriage, James and Melvin Ross, and their two little Radford girls. Rachel Leah's older sister Rebecca was expecting their seventh child, Rebecca Jane, who would be born in Mount Pisgah in August. Thomas C. Smith, Richard's 23-year-old third son, married another Frampton girl, 18-year-old Sarah Ann, the little sister of his brother's wife, on January 13, 1850.

That spring, gold seekers heading to California flooded Kanesville, boosting the economy. The Mormons needed a market for their farm products and crafts, and the gold seekers were reducing their loads, trading unneeded items for food and animal feed. In June 4,500 wagons crossed the ferry at Kanesville with about 13,500 men. The town became the largest outfitting post on the Missouri river from 1849 to 1852. Of course, it also outfitted LDS pioneers: 25,000 between 1846 and 1853. President Young had instructed people that it was unwise to head west without "a team and wagon sufficient to come through without any assistance from the Valley" and to bring food sufficient to last them a few months after arriving. An outfit for heading west cost about $600 ($36,300 in 2023 dollars). From 1849 to 1852, about 46 wagon trains left for Utah with over 25,000 Mormons. About 8,000 of these were immigrants from Europe.

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[170] Coleman Boren had been baptized January 3, 1840, by Zachariah Wilson, the same missionary who later baptized Thomas Washington Smith in Gibson County in 1841.

[171] This must have been a re-baptism. His ordinance section in *FamilySearch* gives his earlier baptism as January 15, 1846, which would have been at Nauvoo when he was 17. The 1848 baptism by Bishop Boren is documented in multiple biographies.

[172] They appeared in the 1850 census in Wapello, Iowa with a two-year-old daughter and never went to Utah. They lived in central Iowa for 10 years and then returned to Nauvoo, where John died in 1864.

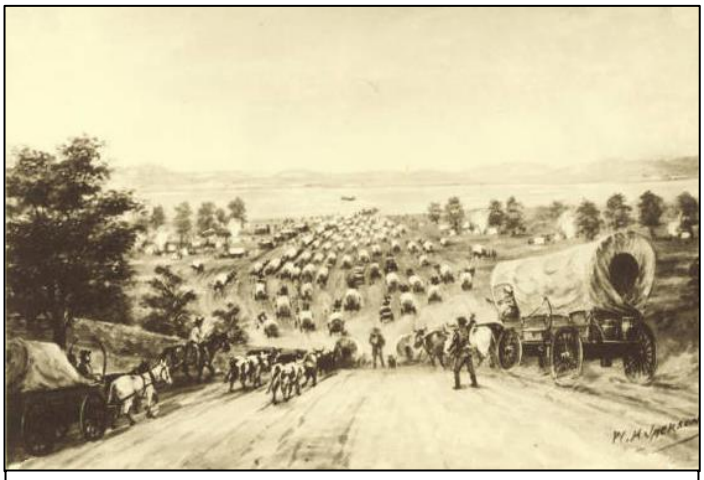
[173] Sloane was a 56-year-old lawyer from Ireland, who had joined the Church around 1837 in Ohio. He later served as the Nauvoo City recorder and secretary of the Nauvoo legion. He was living with his wife in Kanesville in 1850, where he served as county clerk, and later moved to Sacramento, California and eventually joined the RLDS.

[174] Whiting had gone west in February 1846 with Father Morley's company, stopped at Mt. Pisgah, and then returned in May for his family. While living there, he lost his parents, a younger brother, and his daughter Emily Jane to cholera. He built a factory in Pisgah to make chairs which he shipped to Quincy. He served as counselor to Father Morley at Mt. Pisgah and later to Lorenzo Snow, and then served as branch president when Snow left. Whiting left in 1849 and was probably about ready to set out for Utah when he blessed the Radford girl. He arrived in the Valley on October 28, 1849, and settled in Manti as mayor.

On orders from Salt Lake City, the evacuation of Mount Pisgah began in the spring of 1850 and would not be completed for two years. On May 8, 1850, the first family to leave for Utah Territory was Edmund Nelson, who with a large family in two wagons with good ox teams and a number of cows traveled pretty much alone until they found a camp of Saints about four miles west of Kanesville. On June 4th he joined about 50 wagons of the Benjamin Hawkins Company, who were preparing to leave for Utah the next day.

On May 19th Richard Smith's fifth son, 18-year-old William Deets Smith married Polly Perry, the youngest daughter of Asahel and Polly Perry, just in time to join both sets of parents headed out for Deseret. Asahel had been the branch president at Mount Pisgah since the preceding fall. The Perrys brought their younger sons, Stephen and Philander,[175] who brought their own young families. In addition to William and Polly, the Smiths took their three surviving unmarried children with them: Sarah Ann, age 12, Nancy, 14, and Ephraim, 16, and James Agee, 20. Phillip and Thomas, who had married the Frampton girls earlier that year remained at Mount Pisgah until 1852, when they crossed with their widowed mother-in-law Elizabeth with the Isaac M. Stewart Company. Their oldest daughter Rebecca and her husband Melvin Ross had left Pisgah with their family a few days earlier. Also traveling with the Smiths and Perrys from Pisgah were Jonathan Duke and his family, whose daughter Sarah Jane would later marry James Agee Smith in Provo. They stayed about a week at the Bluffs and then moved down to the lower ferry where they all camped, preparing to leave with James Pace's Company of 100 wagons.

Of the 10 wagon companies leaving Kanesville bound for Utah that June, four left in the first week with over 400 wagons and about 1,600 pioneers.



Kanesville Crossing
B.Y.U. Library, L. Tom Perry Special Collections MSS 1608

None of our families were in the first company led by Milo Andrus. The second group to leave was the Benjamin Hawkins Company on June 5th, which included Melvin and Rebecca Ross with all their children except 14-year-old James, who waited three days to travel with his uncle, Thomas Ross, in the Aaron Johnson Company. The Hawkins Company also included Peter Shirts with his family. Their way was not easy, plagued with cholera. In his trail diary, Edmund Nelson's son Thomas wrote of the death of "a (little child of a) Brother Borum. Melvin Ross and I dug the grave and buried it." He continued, "There began to be considerable sickness in camp and some deaths." Peter Shirts, who had been appointed captain of the first ten, had to bury his wife by the wayside. From Samuel K. Gifford's diary:

> The horror that reigned in camps ahead of us cannot be described. Sometimes for miles could be seen feather beds, blankets, quilts, and clothing of every kind strewed over the plains, also wagon tires and irons of every description, gun barrels, stoves, etc. etc. (Much of this trash was left in the rush of miners to California the previous season.) The bottom of the Sweetwater was

[175] Their older children had not become Mormons and remained in the East.

> also lined with wagon tires, chains and other irons. And fresh graves could be seen in every direction… The Platte water being muddy, there had been wells dug all along the Platte bottom to get clear water. The wells were about six feet deep with steps dug to get to the water. The council was this, "To not go near those wells for water but get their water out of the river and drink none without boiling and to fill their churns, teakettles, and everything that they had that would hold water with boiled water to use while traveling…."

Apparently there was some recognition that cholera was associated with river water, although Louis Pasteur did not discover the germ theory until 1861.

On June 8th, Aaron Johnson's[176] group left with 100 wagons which included the Thomas Ross family from Shirtses Branch and Melvin's son James Jackson Ross. The other Ross children were James Andrew, 13, Peggy Ann, 12, Leah Lucinda, eight, Mary Elizabeth, five, and 18 month old Nancy Jane.

This group also included the soon-to-be-famous Jacob Hamblin. The Rosses were in Captain Elijah Averett's first fifty.[177] Averett wrote in his autobiography:

> Brothers Hyde and James Allred Sr. organized a company. Brother Aaron Johnson was captain of the hundred; I was captain of the first fifty, and Mathew Caldwell of the second fifty. After we were organized, Captain Blair and his company of gentiles joined my company.[178] We totaled 84 wagons in all. We traveled on until we crossed a little river by the name of Salt River. Here, if I recollect right, the cholera struck our camp. I lost 17 persons in my company. On June 27, 1850, Bishop Johnson's first wife Polly died of cholera 15 days out from Kanesville. Also dying of

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[176] Aaron Johnson was a member of Brigham Young's Camp of Israel that left Nauvoo in February 1846. At Garden Grove, he was called to stay behind as a counselor in the bishopric of Samuel Bent and then became the bishop in charge of preparing Garden Grove as a way station for the rest of the saints to follow. He quickly built two cabins for his own families and then seven more. He oversaw the care of the families of the men called to serve in the Mormon Battalion and hosted many refugees from Nauvoo including the poorest to leave the following fall, helping them through the winter. Johnson left Garden Grove on May 12, 1847, and arrived at Winter Quarters shortly after the Vanguard Party left for Utah and was sent on a mission to Michigan, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, returning in 1848 to Kanesville. He was called on another mission to the eastern states accompanied by his first wife, Polly, on June 24, 1848, from which he returned November 24th to live in Kanesville, where his 20-year-old son Willis was taking care of Polly's children and the families of his other wives. His son Aaron Moroni was born in Winter Quarters on August 10, 1847 while Aaron was on his mission to Michigan and before the Saints moved across the river to Kanesville. Aaron Moroni died October 22, 1849 in Kanesville before his father returned from his second mission. During 1849 and 1850, Aaron Johnson was a bishop or presiding elder in Kanesville and Pottawattamie branches and may even have supervised the Shirtses Branch.

[177] After arriving, Averett joined Father Morley in Manti. He eventually served as stake president in Ephraim but was later called to Dixie in 1861.

[178] Blair's company were actually not primarily gentiles. He was part of a commercial train of several wagons in partnership with Thomas S. Williams, a former Mormon Battalion member, who had become a professional freight driver and was returning to Salt Lake City with the eastern mail and several wagons full of freight. This was Seth Blair's first trip to Utah, having joined the Church a year earlier in Texas, and he later became an important figure in Utah history. Blair and Williams had both grown up in Tennessee. Blair was living in Dyer County in 1836, when as a 17-year-old he went to Texas and volunteered in Sam Houston's army, working his way up to the rank of major in the Texas Rangers. He later became a successful Salt Lake businessman, the first U.S. attorney of Utah, and later influenced General Houston, who was by then a United States senator, to intervene in favor of the Mormons during the Johnston's Army threat to Utah.

> cholera that week were Willis, his 22-year-old son, and Aaron's second wife Sarah Mariah, mother of the two children who had recently died in Pottawattamie. I had a touch of it myself.

The trip to the Salt Lake Valley must have been much more difficult than the accounts written by the Ross family. According to Jacob Hamblin's journal, cholera was present from June 15th to early July. Seth Blair had a slightly different take, writing that it broke out before they even left Kanesville and that they had to deal with it for the first 300-400 miles.[179]

The Ross family traveled with two wagons, one drawn by a team of oxen and the other by a team of cows. Thirteen-year-old James Andrew Ross drove the oxen and his 14-year-old cousin James Jackson Ross drove the other. According to the autobiography of Andrew's sister Nancy,

> The cows were milked in the morning, and all milk that remained after the family had finished breakfast was put into a churn and carried on the side of the wagon. By nightfall there would be a bit of butter in the churn. (Nancy must have heard that story from her mother—she was only 18 months old when they left and 21 months old when they arrived in Salt Lake City.)

The Thomas Ross family moved to Provo, probably accompanied by James A. and William W. Smith and the Young brothers, who had been living in a place called Holladay's Settlement, later Big Cottonwood. Aaron Johnson took eight of the best wagons directly to Hobble Creek and became bishop there in what became Springville. Thomas' older brother Melvin arrived about the same time on the Benjamin Hawkins train with his wife Rebeccah (Richard Smith's daughter), two children Isaac, 12, and Emma, 8, and the Peter Shirts.

Richard Smith's group from Pisgah including the Perrys and the Dukes left Kanesville on June 11th with James Pace in the last of the early June companies. Brigham Young himself set out with this group, but his carriage soon left the slower ox-driven wagons behind. John and Rachael Leah Radford, Richard's daughter, probably left about the same time. Their second daughter Catherine died while still in Nebraska Territory on June 25th at the age of 18 months. I believe that Anna Reynolds, Billy Young's second wife, and her daughter Polly Ann came to Utah with John Radford since they were in his household in the Utah 1851 census. According to Charles Dana, the Pace Company also encountered cholera soon after crossing the Missouri. Another immigrant in the party reported the names of eight people in the second 50 who died of cholera in June and also mentioned that 16-year-old Ephraim Smith and George Grinnell killed a deer on July 16th. At Sweetwater, Richard Smith's family stayed behind to help the Jonathan Duke family, whose son was sick, and the two families traveled several days behind the company. They arrived in Utah in mid-September and the Smith family moved with the Duke family directly to Provo.

Back in Tennessee Hollow, the Shirtses Branch sustained new leaders on June 16, 1850, having lost John Radford to emigration. Thomas Washington Smith remained branch president and William Niswanger was sustained as first councilor, Brother Birch as second, and John Price as clerk. On August 5th Willis Boren was made a bishop. Contrary to modern practice, Thomas Washington Smith and his counselors

[179] The pioneer treatment for cholera was basically useless and in many cases dangerous. A common treatment at the time was water restriction intended to "dry up" the diarrhea. Modern and successful treatment is I.V. fluids, the very opposite. Many of the deaths were probably preventable.

and clerk continued in office. Bishops had a special non-administrative calling to collect tithing and care for the poor.

At this time Kanesville had about 350 homes and 5,058 people in its census precinct which comprised the majority of Pottawattamie County's 7,828 residents. Elizabeth Ross and her husband Isaac Mathis arrived directly in Kanesville from Iron City, Tennessee in time to appear in the 1850 U.S census with their four youngest children. Having come much too late to attend their son John's wedding, they settled next to him, his wife Sarah, and their two-year-old son Thomas, and near his widowed mother-in-law Sarah Ann Dowdle and her children. They lived at Buoyo, about 15 miles north of Kanesville and seven miles south of the Shirtses settlement, where Thomas Washington Smith was living with his second wife Sarah Ann Boren, eight-year-old Mary, and two-year-old Joseph.[180] They were next door neighbors to Willis and Mary Boren.

By this time, it had been four years since the exodus from Nauvoo, and Nancy Ross Kilbreth had still not made her way across Iowa. She and her husband John appeared in 1850 census in Vernon, Missouri,[181] lodging with E. F. Greenleaf, a tavern keeper. They were apparently only passing through, as tavern keepers often rented rooms to travelers, and there were 15 unrelated young adults living at that address. Nancy was pregnant with Harriet, who was born a few months later in Bonaparte, Iowa, and they were evidently traveling without their three-year-old daughter Roanna, who was born at Bonaparte during the winter of 1847 after they were driven from Nauvoo.

According to the minutes of the last meeting recorded in the Shirtses Branch, on May 4, 1851, Thomas Washington Smith and William Niswanger requested a recommend (to emigrate), which was approved unanimously, and William F. Smith and Willis Boren were recommended to join the high priest quorum. Before leaving, Thomas was given assignments to help provide food and supplies at different migration stations along the westward route, probably the reason why he has not been identified with a specific wagon company. His wife Sarah Boren, who had two children—six-year-old Mary Ann and two-year-old Joseph--was four months pregnant when they left, and she delivered her third child in Provo shortly after their arrival. His other wife, Susan Reynolds, was eight months pregnant and left Iowa with 18 month old twin girls. She delivered a second set of twins, Sarah Elizabeth and James Edward, along the Big Horn River in Wyoming on June 15, 1851. The family arrived in September and moved at once to Provo. Coleman Boren and his large family arrived in Salt Lake City that autumn with a company of Saints from Garden Grove and also made their home in Provo.

Many of the Tennessee group of saints were still in Tennessee Hollow when a special Iowa state census was undertaken in 1851, chiefly the extended family of the settlement's founder William F. Smith. As far as I can tell, neither William nor any of his children ever emigrated to Utah. Many of the Boren family were also still in Iowa in 1851, and many of them stayed there, but Willis and Mary Boren went to Utah on June 8, 1853, with the Daniel A. Miller and John W. Cooley Company and settled in Provo. The missionary who had converted most of the Gibson group, John Anglin McIntosh, and his wife Susannah Boren lived the rest of their lives in Iowa with their children.

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[180] I found no sign in the census of his second wife, Susan Reynolds and their twin one-year-old daughters.

[181] Vernon, Clark County, Missouri is right across the border from Warsaw and Keokuk, only 15 miles as the crow flies from Nauvoo.

Aware that many of the Mormon refugees from Nauvoo were feeling much too satisfied with the highly producing Iowa farmland, the First Presidency in Utah Territory published a notice in the Kanesville newspaper, the *Frontier Guardian,* urging the Saints in Pottawattamie to come to Utah the next season, "…and fail not. What are you waiting for? Have you any good excuse for not coming? No!" On November 8, 1851, Elders Ezra T. Benson and Jedediah M. Grant arrived from Deseret and attended conference in Kanesville to promote emigration. They visited all of the remaining 29 branches and organized companies from each of them, which prompted a massive movement of immigrants the following season. But there was also a serious pull on the Iowa Mormons from the opposite direction. By 1852, about 2,000 members had joined the Strangites (compared to about 12,000 who had gone to Utah) and by 1860, the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints had been organized and was actively proselyting in western Iowa. One of their converts was John Anglin McIntosh.

Richard Smith's sons Phillip and Thomas with their young families and the parents of their wives left for Zion from Kanesville June 19, 1852 in the Isaac M. Stewart Company, probably in response to the Church's urging. They may have lived briefly in the Salt Lake Valley before moving to Springville around 1854.

The John Cummings family left Pottawattamie County on June 28, 1852 with the Uriah Curtis Company. They had initially lived at Kanesville for two years beginning in the fall of 1846, and then moved to Gallen's Grove, about five miles "above" Kanesville, where they lived for three more years. Their son John, then six years old, later wrote of gathering buffalo chips and making a fire by working the bellows, and of falling from the wagon, which ran over his legs. (Running over children appears to have been a common occurrence!) Upon arrival in the valley the Cummings family went straight to Provo. Isaac Mathis with his wife Elizabeth Ross, his John Mathis (with Sarah Dowdle, her parents, and their children) were in the same company. (Isaac and Elizabeth's daughter Eliza and William Willard Smith had already gone with the James A. Smith family three years earlier.) Tragically, Isaac Mathis died of cholera at Ft. Laramie near the end of the journey. Elizabeth and her eight children continued to Utah and settled in Provo, where she lived until at least 1858.[182]

Adam Stephens, one of the two boys[183] whom Margaret Love brought into her marriage with James A. Smith, did not go west with them and was still living in the Shirtses Branch, where he had been an early settler. He and his wife Mary "Polly" Reynolds and eleven children had come late to Iowa with his uncle, William F. Smith. Four of their children were already married. Two of them never left Iowa. The third, 27-year-old Hezekiah, had married a Niswanger girl and was already living in California with a young family. Catherine had married two years earlier. Her husband evidently died, and she married again in Utah in 1854, but died six years later. Adam's son William married the following January and immigrated to Payson, Utah but returned to Iowa before 1867. John Paul found his way to Utah, where he married another Niswanger girl, spent time in California, but also eventually returned to Iowa. Polly Reynolds died in Tennessee Hollow on May 21, 1855, and Adam died six weeks later. The nearly simultaneous deaths of Adam and Polly left eight young orphans from 10 months to 16 years old. George, the oldest of these later married the granddaughter of John Anglin McIntosh and never left Iowa. The rest of them found a way to Utah, probably with the help of their father's stepbrother, Thomas Washington Smith.

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[182] She was in Santaquin by the 1869 census. She was buried at El Cajon Pass in 1891.

[183] His brother William Stephens died in Gibson at the age of 33. His widow, Susan Reynolds later married his stepbrother, Thomas Washington Smith.

Mary Susan Stephens, who was not quite three when her parents died eventually married her cousin, James Edward Smith, one of Thomas Washington Smith's boys.

Nancy and John Kilbreth's two-year-old daughter Harriet had died in Bonaparte in 1853, the seventh of their eight children to die under the age of nine. Later that year the couple separated, and Nancy moved to the Shirtses Branch with Roanna, who was by then five years old. In June 1856 Nancy Kilbreth and Roanna left Tennessee Hollow to go west with the Philemon C. Merrill Company.

Chapter Seven – Provo

The first white man known to set foot in Utah Valley was the Franciscan Friar Silvestre Veleze de Escalante, who came with a contingent of ten Spanish men looking for a northern route from Santa Fe to Monterey, California. They arrived on September 23, 1776. After following the Green River, they came up against the Uintah Mountains, made a sharp turn to the left along the Duchesne River to the Strawberry Valley, crossed the summit to Diamond Fork, and descended along the Spanish Fork River into Utah Valley. They were guided by one adult brave and two twelve-year-old Timpanogos Ute guides, whom the friar dubbed Silvestre, Joaquin, and Jose Maria and adorned with woolen clothing and red ribbons to present themselves to their kin. Escalante received a friendly reception from the Timpanogos Utes, much different than what the trapper Jim Bridger warned Brigham Young to expect when the Mormon Pioneers approached the Great Basin in 1847. It was partly due to Bridger's advice that the Mormons chose the valley of the Great Salt Lake over the valley of Utah Lake for settlement.[184]

Father Escalante recorded that he found the grassy valley fertile. It had plentiful fish and animal life and he felt that it was capable of accommodating a settlement as large as Santa Fe. Pristine Utah Lake must have been a welcome sight after their desolate trek. Escalante described the four waterways supplying the valley, which are now called the Spanish Fork, Provo, American Fork Rivers, and Hobble Creek. The Spaniards had insufficient time to visit the Great Salt Lake, but Escalante mentioned it in his diary. The explorers spent only three days in the valley, but according to Escalante's notes they managed to interest the local Utes in Catholicism. The friars were in a hurry to reach Monterey before winter and promised to return. They made their way to what is now Iron County and farther before running into cold weather, which with the desertion of their native guides forced them to return prematurely, traversing the Colorado River in November at the Crossing of the Fathers, which is now submerged in Lake Powell.

If solo explorers or mountain men also visited Utah Valley around the time of Escalante, they did not make their trips known, for trade and trapping were forbidden by the Spanish. The first trapper known to live in Utah Valley was a Canadian named Etienne Provost, who lived in both the Salt Lake and Utah Valleys in 1824-25, while 1,500 miles to the east the Ross and Smith families were settling Gibson County. Provost had a trading post at the mouth of the Provo River about 20 miles from where seven or eight of his men were killed by Indians in the fall of 1824. It is not known how long Provost stayed, but by 1830 he was living permanently in St. Louis.

When Brigham Young's vanguard pioneer party entered the Salt Lake Valley in 1847, they at once began to explore the surrounding area, and less than a week after their arrival Orson Pratt climbed high enough in the west mountains to see Utah Lake to the south. A week later Sam Brannan, Jesse Little, and W. W. Willis entered Utah Valley to take a look around before the disappointed Brannon returned to the Mormons he had left in San Francisco.[185] Soon Parley P. Pratt and John S. Higbee took a small boat up the Jordan Narrows into Utah Lake and sailed along the western shore fishing. But it was not until the fall of 1848 after the famous disaster of the crickets and the population of the valley had burgeoned to 5,000 settlers, that it became imperative to risk resistance from the Timpanogos Utes and expand south.

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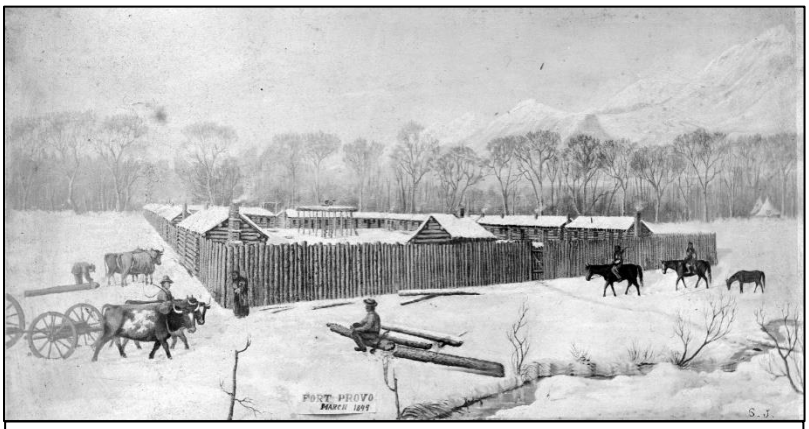
[184] John Clifton Mott, The Story of Utah, 1975.

[185] Brannon and a large party of Mormons had sailed from New York to San Francisco on the ship Brooklyn in the winter of 1846, and he was in the Salt Lake Valley hoping to lure Brigham to join them in California.

On March 17, 1849, Brigham Young selected 33 families for the purpose of farming, fishing and instructing the Indians how to cultivate the earth in Utah Valley. After three days' travel, the group was met about two miles from the mouth of the Provo River by a representative of the Timpanogos Utes, who warned them not to settle there.[186]

Soon the messenger returned with a war party, who compelled Dimick Huntington, the interpreter for the Mormons, to raise his right hand and swear by the sun, that the white men, "would not drive the Indians from their lands, nor take away their rights," which, of course, was a promise that he would not be able to keep. The party then crossed the river and chose a site for their fort about midway between the lake and the present site of Provo and began to divide up the land for farming and to establish a trading post.



Exterior View of Fort Utah, 1849
(from a painting by Samuel Jepperson)

In about six weeks they laid out 200 acres of farmland and sowed crops, and in April they began to construct "Fort Utah" south of the river about a mile upstream from the lake. The approximate location began 200 yards north of present West Center Street and extended north toward the Provo River between 2400 and 2700 West. It had two parallel rows of eleven cabins facing each other, built close together to form the outside walls. In the center was a bastion with a cannon mounted on a swivel to deter Indian attacks. The log walls were 14 feet high with gates on the east and west ends, and according to George Washington Bean, one of the first settlers, it measured about 330 by 660 feet.[187] Individual houses were built against the wall facing inward, and a corral was set up inside to protect livestock during the night. On May 15th a branch of the Church was organized. The fort was soon completed and renamed Fort Provo after the trapper Etienne Provost.

Every spring, a great number of fish from Utah Lake moved up the Provo River to spawning grounds, and this year the settlers joined the Indians in their traditional fish harvest. Bait was not necessary. The Indians used nets, and the settlers used large treble hooks which they called grappling hooks, with which they snagged the fish to bring them to shore. In their fields they also harvested fish which had been delivered by their new irrigation ditches.

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[186] There had already been a skirmish with the Indians in the area just two weeks before the first 33 families arrived, in which several Indians were killed at Battle Creek (now Pleasant Grove) by 35 militia men from Salt Lake City in a dispute over the stealing of cattle from the Salt Lake Valley settlers. Apparently the Timpanogos Ute leader Little Chief had regarded the Indians as renegades, so there was no retaliation.

[187] George Washington Bean Book part 1, Memories in *FamilySearch* KWNV-721 and also Robert T. Thomas and Chauncey Turner, Homes in Provo, Utah, Memories, Mary Ann Turner KWV3-BQN.

The relationship between the Utes and the Fort Utah settlers was good at first. The following was recorded in the minutes of the Provo Branch: "At the time of our first arrival the Indians were much alarmed, but as soon as they were made acquainted with our friendly disposition towards them, they were very well satisfied and testified it duly by their behavior." On May 27, forty of the settlers were re-baptized in the Provo River.

The young men of the two groups began to hunt, fish, and gamble together, but Brigham Young felt the familiarity might lead to future conflict and discouraged it and sent Parley P. Pratt to make rules against gambling with the Timpanogos and the shooting of guns near the fort. But in August a Timpanog named Old Bishop was killed by three of the settlers during an argument over a shirt that the settlers felt he had stolen. They weighted his body with rocks and sank it in the Provo River, but the Utes discovered it and demanded compensation. When it was not given, they shot arrows into the settlers' cattle and stole corn.[188]

This photo of Provo river fishing was made a decade or two later.

According to George W. Bean,[189] that August Provo became a rendezvous for gold seekers waiting for sufficient numbers to take the southern route to California with Jefferson Hunt, who then lived in Provo. They camped near the fort, aiding in protection from the Indians and supplying powder for the pioneers' cannon. On September 1, 1849, the cannon exploded while Bean and another man were ramming the cartridge into it. The blast took off Bean's left arm and the other man was killed.

At first everyone lived in the fort, but against the advice of Brigham Young many pioneers began to erect shelters outside the walls on their farmland. That fall the gold seekers began trading guns and ammunition to the Indians, which emboldened them.

James A. Smith and his son William had arrived in Salt Lake City with their families on September 25th, but they spent the winter in Cottonwood where Alfred Douglas Young was living.

That winter was hard, and the Timpanogos Utes took 50-60 cattle for food and raided the settlers' grain stores. In January the new Provo branch president, Isaac Higbee, met in Salt Lake City with Brigham Young and Daniel H. Wells[190] to report that the Indian situation was getting dangerous and asked for military aid. Apostles Parley P. Pratt and Willard Richards argued for the killing of the Timpanogos, since losing Fort Utah could cut off communication to the southern Utah colonies. Brigham Young was reluctant, but relented when told that there was 100% agreement among the Provo settlers that the Indians must be driven out. General Wells drafted the extermination order as Special Order No. 2 and

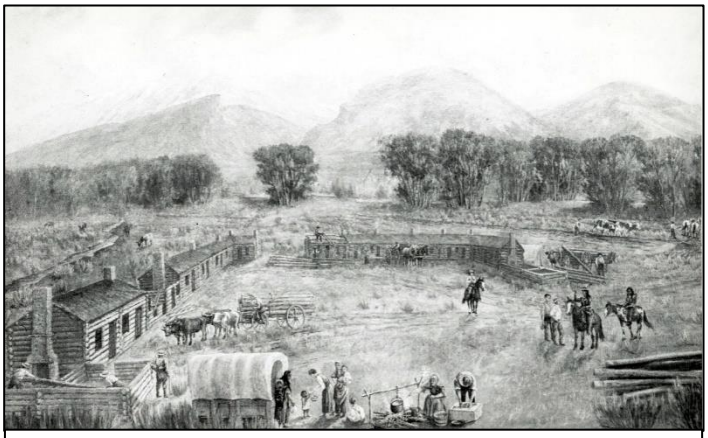
[188] Battle at Fort Utah, Wikipedia.
[189] How G.W. Bean Lost his Arm, *FamilySearch* KWNV-721.
[190] Wells was in the First Presidency and the General of the militia in Salt Lake City.

sent it to Captain George D. Grant. “Take no hostile Indians as prisoners…. Let none escape, but do the work up clean."

In the first battle on February 8th, Joseph Higbee, the 19-year-old son of the presiding elder of the settlement, was killed, and 18 militia men were wounded, but it went much worse for the Indians. During February 8-11, 102 Timpanogos braves were killed in various parts of Utah County. Fifty were decapitated, and their heads were displayed on poles at Fort Utah as a deterrent. About 40 Native American women and children were captured and sold as “servants” to families in Salt Lake City, although most of them escaped the following spring.[191]

At the age of twenty-two, a woman named Mary Ann Turner came to Utah to join her parents in the fall of 1849 in the wake of a polygamous marriage and divorce. Her parents had been one of the original 33 families to settle in the old Fort Utah. Mary Ann soon married another original settler, Robert T. Thomas, on April 18, 1850, who claimed it was the first marriage in Utah County. (Technically, one marriage in Fort Utah had preceded theirs, but it was before the county was created.) They lived in the old fort until at least April 1851. Mary Ann was the first to teach there in the log school house. The second teacher was Zina Diantha Young, also in 1849.[192] Another teacher in the fort was a gentile on his way to California named William Hurst. George Washington Bean aided him for $25 per month, while recovering the loss of his arm in the cannon accident. Hurst was baptized before moving on to California sometime after April 1851.

On March 23, 1850, Brigham Young agreed to lay out a city east of Fort Utah to be called Provo. The site for the city was a mile and a half further up the Provo River on higher ground, and a new fort was begun near the intersection of present 5th West and 5th North at North Park. There was a large building in the middle for school and church meetings.



New Fort Provo under construction in 1850
(Samuel Jepperson)

Among the colonists sent to augment the 33 families who had come the previous year were the James A. Smith, William W. Smith, and William Young families. Alfred Douglas Young remained in Cottonwood until the spring of 1853. William W. Smith wrote that he helped build the first and second forts as a protection against the hostile Indians. If so, his work on the first fort must have been a renovation.

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[191] See Utah Historical Quarterly, Volume 46, Number 3, 1978, for details of the killing.

[192] Zina was the wife of Brigham Young. She was converted in New York by David Whitmer and had also been married to Joseph Smith. She was a sister to Dimick Huntington, the interpreter who had gone with the original settlers to Fort Utah—perhaps he is her link to briefly teaching school there. In her later years she served as the third General President of the Relief Society.

That spring and summer James A. Smith and his son William built the first flour mill in Utah County about a mile north of Provo, which they had ready for grinding by harvest time.[193] The previous year it had been necessary to haul the wheat to Millcreek. The grist mill soon became a social place where the people of Utah County mingled while waiting for their grain to be ground.

When Melvin and Thomas Ross and Richard Smith arrived with their families from Iowa that fall of 1850, they moved straight to Provo. By then the new fort had been inhabited for several months, and the Smiths' mill was in operation. Thomas Ross joined James A. and William Smith at the new mill, but Melvin Ross and his father-in-law Richard Smith settled their families in the new fort, which constructed an addition on the south side to accommodate the large influx of immigrants. Also arriving in Provo that fall from the Shirtses Branch were John and Rachel Leah Radford.

On January 27, 1851, word arrived in Salt Lake City that Congress had granted territorial status to Utah. The government had rejected Utah's proposal for statehood, but the new territory did encompass the Great Basin, which included most of Nevada and part of western Wyoming and Colorado. That evening fireworks were fired in celebration from the roof of the new mercantile store of Livingston and Kinkead in Salt Lake City. Provo was incorporated the following week on February 6, 1851 by an act of the General Assembly of the new territory.

The next month Thomas Ross was called to jury duty to try the alleged theft of a saddle and a watch and several other cases.

Brigham Young visited Fort Provo on March 20th to ordain Isaac Higbee as stake president and with his traveling party called at the new mill of James A. Smith to examine the new grinding wheel.[194] The prophet nominated James A. to be a member of the first Provo Stake High Council and set him apart the following day. Also named a high councilor was Aaron Johnson. The Provo ward was organized with Elias H. Blackburn, one of the original settlers, as the first bishop. He replaced branch president Higbee, who had been working without counselors. Blackburn was young, only 23 years old with an infant child, and his young family was still living at the old fort, as were 15 other families including President Higbee. Blackburn kept an insightful journal,[195] which will inform much of this chapter. William Young, who lived in the new fort, was called to be one of the bishop's counselors. The wards met in the log meetinghouse, which also served as the schoolhouse.

That spring a city plot one mile square was surveyed and laid out in Provo. Each block had eight lots, six by 12 rods. The city extended six blocks west of Main Street (modern 5th West) five blocks east (to University Ave.), six blocks south of Center Street, and five blocks north. About seven adobe houses were built.

On March 24th an expedition to settle San Bernardino was organized at Payson under direction of the apostles Amasa Lyman and Charles C. Rich and led by Jefferson Hunt, who had previously explored the route with the gentile gold miners. The company consisted of 494 people, including Parley P. Pratt in a

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[193] Jens Marinus Jensen, History of Provo, Utah, page 61.

[194] Journal History of the Church, Thursday 20 Mar 1851.

[195] Voyle L. and Lillian S. Munson, A Gift of Faith: Elias Hicks Blackburn, Pioneer, Patriarch, and Healer, Basin/Plateau Press, 1991. Also see 26 part series of articles by William H. Calahan in the Provo Daily Herald celebrating Provo Centennial, published weekly from September 25, 1949 to April 16, 1850 based on Blackburn's journal. These are the sources of all my following quotations of Elias Blackburn.

party of missionaries to the Pacific Islands. Many of the families were so-called Mississippi Saints, who with part of the sick detachment of the Mormon Battalion had joined Brigham Young's vanguard party at Fort Laramie and entered the Valley with them in 1847. Five of the Mississippi families traveling to San Bernardino were slave holders, who brought 57 slaves with them, probably unaware that six months earlier California had been admitted to the Union as a free state in which their slaves would become instantly free upon arrival. The wagon train was considered part of Utah County in the U. S. Census, which was counted the week that they assembled.[196] Immediately after the census was counted, the San Bernardino group took off to California.

The census showed the Ross family living next to James A. Smith, whose occupation was given as a millwright. In James A.'s household were his wife Margaret and their 14-year-old grandson Robert, the son of Thomas Washington Smith, who had not yet arrived in Utah. Robert's mother, Mary Ann Ross, had died when Robert was an infant. Robert was probably doing a man's job at the mill. The next household was James A.'s daughter Rachel with her husband Thomas Ross and their six children from one month old Thomas to 16-year-old James Andrew, who must also have been working at the mill. Thomas declared his occupation as cooper (barrel maker), which would have been handy in the milling business. Next lived William and Eliza Smith with their three children aged two to eight. William listed himself as "laborer," but if not already an accomplished millwright at the age of 31, he was becoming one.

A careful analysis of this census shows that Thomas Ross, James A. Smith and his son William were not living in the new fort, but out of town at the mill, since there is evidence that most of the families listed close to them were also living out of town. One close neighbor was Samuel Clark, a 53-year-old tanner from New Jersey, who had arrived in Utah in 1848 and moved to Provo after a year in Salt Lake City with the original settlers and onto his farm soon after arrival. Needing certain types of tree bark for his tanning business, Clark and his employees were among the first to drive a wagon and ox team up the roadless Provo Canyon[197] to bring down the needed logs. He moved back into town in 1853 under Indian pressure, where he continued his tanning business on the corner of 5th West and 3rd North. Another neighbor was Ezekiel Kellog, who was born in Palmyra, New York, an early convert. His second wife, Naomi Harris, was a much younger sister of Martin Harris, one of the three witnesses to the Book of Mormon. Kellog came to Utah in 1850 in the Aaron Johnson Company with the Ross family. Kellog's niece, Rebecca Harris, was living with his family outside the new fort. She wrote in her autobiography about crossing the Provo River to get back into town to avoid Indian attacks, a sign that they lived out of town. I was able to find about six other households beyond the flour mill. Neighbors living between the Smith mill and the town included the brothers David and Shadrack Holdaway and two families of their in-laws. Shadrack Holdaway had come back from his service in the Mormon Battalion with a bunch of gold dust, which he in consultation with Brigham Young invested in useful infrastructure. He traveled east in 1849 to buy the makings of a water-driven carding and spinning operation for making woolen cloth,

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[196] A requirement for the new Utah Territory was to take part in the 1850 census, so it was performed in February through April of 1851. In Utah County the census was counted after March 22 as determined by the birthdate of Samuel Colton, a neighbor of James A. Smith, who was listed as 1/12 in age.

[197] Originally the pioneers' name for Provo Canyon was Rock Canyon. What we now call Rock Canyon was then called Little Rock Canyon, which has caused confusion for amateur historians. Provo's Bishop Blackburn used the name Provo Canyon in a journal entry December 2, 1853. To avoid confusion, I will use the modern name in this book.

which he built on the north side of the Provo River outside of town. It was still under construction at the time of the census but was ready to begin carding by October 1851. It was later moved into town, where it processed all the wool in the territory until the Holdaways sold out to the Church-run Provo Woolen mill around 1870. They also built the first threshing machine in the county and ran an iron foundry in Provo.

In the fall of 1851 other members of the Shirtses Branch settled in Provo including Thomas Washington Smith with his two wives and 14 children. Sarah Ann's second son Carrel Smith was born in Provo on September 18th. One of Thomas Washinton Smith's biographies claims that Thomas "erected a sawmill and lived in Provo for five years." More likely he helped to run his father's mill in Provo, but he later erected sawmills in two other towns. Coleman Boren also arrived that fall and moved into the new fort.

Thomas and Rachel Ross were endowed in Salt Lake City on February 21, 1852. Thomas was anointed by George A. Smith and Rachel by Eliza R. Snow. Brigham Young sealed the anointings. On April 12th James A. Smith and Margaret Love were sealed to each other.[198]

Brigham Young received a petition from Provo asking him to reorganize the stake just a year after its creation. The petition was signed by over 100 Provoans, including Richard Smith, John Radford, James Smith (Richard's son), and Coleman Boren.[199]

> We truly feel as if we had not the encouragement necessary to build public buildings or even private ones, for we consider that those who should be foremost in building up the place have deserted us and moved out of the city to make them fine farms, etc. Of the Church Authorities not one single one lives in the city, but Bishop Blackburn is building, so there is a prospect of one…. We would be heartily glad if Bro. Geo. A. Smith could be appointed to take the lead of matters here….

Significantly, James A. Smith, William Smith, Thomas Ross, and Thomas Washington Smith were not among those who signed, since they were among those living outside of town. William Young also didn't sign, possibly out of support of his relatives. His brother, Alfred Douglas Young, was still living in Cottonwood, but he had a farm near the old fort and owned a half block in Provo.[200]

In response to the petition, a special church conference was held in the bowery at Provo on August 1, where the Apostle George A. Smith was appointed stake president as requested, with Isaac Higbee and Dominicus Carter as counsellors.[201] Brigham Young again instructed the people in all the settlements to

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[198] In James' brief autobiography he wrote that he was sealed to Margaret in 1858, but the ordinance section in *FamilySearch* gives the date as April 12, 1852.

[199] Coleman Boren died in Provo May 5, 1858 at the age of 49 of "black jaundice" according to the sexton's record of the Provo Cemetery, likely a fulminating liver disease such as yellow fever.

[200] Douglas Alfred Young appeared in the 1860 census in Mount Pleasant with his third wife Rhoda, widow of his cousin Adolphius, but he kept the first two wives in Provo. He was called to the Muddy Mission in 1868, where he stayed until it was abandoned in 1871, when he moved to Kanab, where he lived until his death in 1889.

[201] Dominicus Carter was the father of 18-year-old Sidney Rigdon Carter, who would five years later marry two of Thomas and Rachel Ross' daughters on the same day. Dominicus had a two story adobe house on the corner of 1st North and 5th West (then the main street in Provo) across the road from the Third Ward chapel. He rented the upstairs rooms to overland stage passengers, the first hotel in Provo which he called the Lion House, and he had a large barn to house the coach and horses.

live in forts, but in Provo there was great resistance to this, and many people remained on the best sites near the river.

A high council was appointed on July 6th, which included James A. Smith, and Provo was divided into wards. Elias Blackburn was appointed "bishop of the stake" which meant he managed the tithing office for all the wards. The other bishops were Jonathan O. Duke, James Bird, William Madison Wall, and William Fausett.[202] Fausett was over the Fifth Ward, which consisted of the Saints living in the farming district north of Provo City extending eastward to the mountains and west to the Provo River including the mill run by the Smith and Ross families. The following month, ground was dedicated and broken on the public square for the Provo Meeting House, for which plans had been drawn by Truman O. Angel.

Melvin Ross

Melvin Ross married his second wife, 17-year-old Nancy Margaret Smith, in the Endowment House on August 18, 1852. Nancy was the little sister of Melvin's first wife, Rebecca Smith, who was twice Nancy's age. Both women were sealed to Melvin on that day, five weeks after Rebecca's eighth child, Melvin Nephi was born.[203] Ten days later, Orson Pratt made the first public announcement of the doctrine of polygamy at a special conference called by Brigham Young, which was attended by 2,000 members in the "old" tabernacle.

By the end of the summer Utah County was filled with settlements. George A. Smith wrote for the *Deseret News* on September 27, 1852,

> The different branches are known as Mountainville (Alpine), Lehi City, American Fork, Battle Creek (Pleasant Grove), Provo City, Springville, Palmyra City (Spanish Fork), Payson, and Summitville (Santaquin). Considering the (length of) time it has been settled and the number of inhabitants, Utah is one of the most flourishing counties in the world. Provo contains over two hundred families, three sawmills, one grist mill, one shingle machine propelled by water, one carding machine and fulling mill, and one threshing machine propelled by water power, and two cabinet shops. A meeting house, eighty feet by forty-seven, to be finished with gallery and steeple tower, has been commenced.

Most people in Provo were living on their city lots, the men and older boys going to their farms to work and returning home in the evening, but there was still conflict between Brigham Young and the Provoans about living outside the fort. According to Bishop Fausett's year-end report for 1852, the Smiths and Thomas Ross were still living at the mill. Most dwellings in town were adobe houses with a vegetable garden and orchard, watered by an irrigation system along the street. Lilacs and hollyhocks were favorite flowers. Most city lots had a stack yard for hay, sheds, and a corral.

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[202] Fausett was from Maury, Tennessee and had served as a bishop in Winter Quarters to the Allred settlement in Pottawattamie County before emigrating to Utah in September 1851. He served in Provo as a bishop until 1867.
[203] Nancy died on September 17, 1853, during the birth of their first child, who survived and was raised by Rebecca.

Isaac Mathis and his wife Elizabeth Ross, his son John Mathis (with his wife Sarah Dowdle, her parents, and their children), and the John Cummings family arrived in the fall of 1852 and came directly to Provo.[204]

That fall, John Taylor brought machinery into Utah Territory from Liverpool, England, and a sugar works was installed near the George W. Bean home about a mile north of Provo city limits.[205]

In December the Apostle George A. Smith reported to the *Deseret News* about Peter Shirts' new settlement: "Six miles south of Cedar is a Fort called Walker, containing three families with nine men capable of bearing arms. Mr. Shirts is making salt there."

Brigham Young dedicated the site of the Salt Lake Temple in February 1853. The temple would not be completed for another 40 years.

The winter of 1852-53 was a hard one. Saints and Indians alike suffered in Utah Valley, and so did their relationship. On July 19, 1853, Brigham Young wrote a letter to militia Captain Conover of Provo to hold his militia in readiness in case of a fuss with the Indians. On the 25th an express rider arrived in Salt Lake City at three in the morning bringing a report of Indians shooting two men who were riding through Utah County. One was shot in the right wrist and the other in the left shoulder. The Indians had driven out their families and taken possession of their houses.[206]

This was the beginning of the Walker[207] War. Although the first action had broken out in Springville, it soon spread to Provo. In Ephraim Smith's biography (Richard's son) is the following interesting story:

> Thomas Ross, who was running a flour mill at James Smith's old home, was shot by an Indian, but the bullet passed through his hat without injuring him…. Once when Nancy (Ephraim's 19-year-old wife) was alone, a band of Indians came to her home demanding food and that she prepare them something to eat. Nancy not being afraid ordered them to go out into the yard and she would prepare something for them. While she was preparing the food they sang and danced, during which time Mr. Thomas Ross went over and told them to get out. The Indians said white squaw was cooking something for them to eat and for him to get out. As soon as they had eaten they left without harming Mrs. Smith although they stole several articles.

During the Walker War the insistence of Provo people to live on their farms suddenly disappeared. Brigham remarked, "If I can't get you into the fort, Walker can." The Fifth Ward dissolved after only one

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[204] Elizabeth Ross Mathis lived in Provo at least until 1858. She was in Santaquin by the 1869 census. She was buried at El Cajon Pass near San Bernardino in 1891.

[205] While serving a mission to France, John Taylor had bought a sugar beet factory, which was dismantled and shipped by boat to Leavenworth, Kansas and by wagon train to Utah Territory. The machinery was later moved to Sugar House, but the entire operation initially failed due to lack of knowledge of extraction techniques, although sugar beets prospered in Utah soil. It was not until 1891 when more advanced methods were brought in from California that the first carload of granulated sugar left a new factory in Lehi. (Robert A. Burton and Paul Alan Cox, Sugarbeet Culture and Mormon Economic Development in the Intermountain West, Economic Botany, Vol. 52, No. 2, pp. 260-206.)

[206] Journal History of the Church, July 19, 1853, p. 13.

[207] Walker is the name used by the pioneers for Walkara, who led a band of warriors who dealt in horses and slaves. He was the principal chief of the Timpanogos when the pioneers arrived. The Walker War broke out after James Ivie killed Shower-O-Cats, a relative of Walkara according to Wikipedia.

year in existence, as the district was vacated due to frequent Indian troubles, and the settlers moved into the Provo fort. The Ross family resettled in the 4th Ward.[208] Their Provo house was between 2nd and 3rd North and 1st and 2nd West, between the homes of Richard Smith and William W. Smith, where the Provo woolen mill later stood.[209] William and Leah Young lived close by with their children Willis, Melinda, Rachel, Harriet, and Alma, situated two houses from William Wall.[210]

Willis Boren, the stepfather of William and Douglas Alfred Young who had held the indenture of young George Washington Ross in Gibson County, and many of the McIntosh[211] family arrived from Iowa and settled in Provo that fall. Willis came with his second wife, Mary Sampson and another unnamed family member.[212] They settled near his daughter Sarah Ann and her husband Thomas Washington Smith.[213] Around this time Douglas Alfred Young moved to Provo from Cottonwood. On October 18th Robert Francis Ross, the seventh child of Thomas and Rachel Ross, was born in Provo. The next day William Young was called to help settle Washington County in southern Utah.[214]

William "Billy" Young

As a part of the Walker War, work on the so called Spanish wall to encompass Salt Lake City was begun that December. It was to be six miles in length, 12 feet high, and six feet thick at the base. On the last day of the year 1853 a mass meeting was held in the city memorializing Congress to construct a national railroad from the Missouri River via the South Pass and Great Salt Lake City to the Pacific.

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[208] Brett Lambourne, Lambourne and Child Family History, *FamilySearch*.

[209] The Provo Woolen Mills was founded by the Mormon Church in 1870, powered by the Provo River. According to a historical marker at 125 N. on 100 W. in Provo, the woolen mill was located four rods (64 feet) to the north, or about 150 N.

[210] Wall was the County Attorney, sat on Provo's first city council, and was a captain in the militia in the Walker War, having been a lieutenant in the Nauvoo Legion. He was a bishop in Provo before serving a mission in Australia. Upon returning he became Marshall of Provo and Sheriff of Utah County. He was later an important character in the settlement of Heber and surroundings.

[211] These were relatives of the missionary who baptized the families in Gibson County. Elder McIntosh himself became RLDS and remained with his immediate family in Iowa.

[212] He had no known children with Mary Sampson—she was 53 when they married.

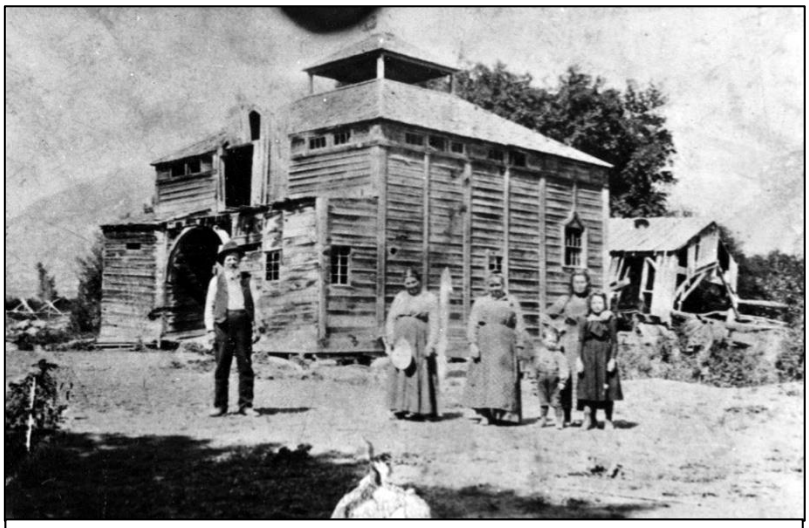
[213] Willis Boren married Sophia Dutton DeGraw, a widow with six children in Lehi on January 18, 1856, and settled them also in Provo.

[214] William Young first settled in Cedar City but soon moved to New Harmony around 1855, where John D. Lee was a prominent figure. The ubiquitous Peter Shirts was also there at that time. Young served there in the bishopric, but in the spring of 1857 he moved his family to the town of Washington. At the age of 52 William "Billy" Young was a private in John D. Lee's 4th battalion, which took part in the Mountain Meadows Massacre, but Billy Young was ill in camp and only saw the massacre from a distance. He was not named in the 1859 arrest warrant issued by Judge Cradlebaugh, nor was he mentioned in T.B.H. Stenhouse's Rocky Mountain Saints, published in 1873. However, he was called as a witness in the first Lee trial in 1875, naming many participants including himself. In the following years Billy Young worked as a farmer and carpenter in Washington County including helping to build the cotton factory in 1867-68. Assistant federal prosecutor, Robert N. Baskin, commented at the close of the trial that "Old Mister Young" while on the witness stand had looked "crushed," with a "death rattle" in his throat. In fact, Young was nearly seventy and not a well man. He died about a month later, on September 3, 1875. (Gary Dean, Life and Times of William Alma Young, memories for William Alma Young KWJY-FXH.)

The Provo mayor called a mass meeting on March 7, 1854 on the subject of erecting a similar wall around Provo to protect against the Indians. The people finally voted that every person in the city would build a rod (16 feet) of wall for every lot in his possession. The wall was to be ten feet high, built of mud on a five foot wide stone foundation and two feet wide at the top, and the ward bishops were to supervise construction.

Because of the Indian trouble and depredations, the Smiths moved their flour mill into the town of Provo[215] in the winter or early spring of 1854, but it was later destroyed by fire. They built another, but it was sold to a man named Bolton. Around 1858, William W. Smith moved to Santaquin, where he built mills in Santaquin and Goshen.[216]

James A. Smith along with William B. Pace and William Goddard built Union Hall in Provo in 1854. It was a theater and dance hall.[217]



Provo's first mill, courtesy of BYU Library.
Possible identities: (L-R): James A. Smith, Rachel Smith Ross, Sarah Ann Boren Smith, Carrel Smith, Margaret Ross, Leah Ross. (ca. 1854)

In April, Bishop Elias H. Blackburn reported the following to the *Deseret News*:

> In this city and the surrounding country our affairs are in a flourishing condition. The city wall is progressing, and all seem willing to lend a helping hand to build it; and carry out the instructions of the President. There has been manufactured in this city, three thousand five hundred yards of cloth during the past year, which speaks well for the industry and perseverance of the inhabitants. We are visited occasionally by strolling parties of Indians, some come for the purpose of fishing, and others to beg. They are disposed to be peaceable. The new seminary is progressing towards completion and when finished will be quite an ornament to our thriving city.

But in fact, the wall was never completed as originally designed and the effort was abandoned after about two years, because a formal treaty of peace was signed on May 23, 1854, by Chiefs Kanosh and Walker at Chicken Creek, Juab County ending the Walker War, which had killed 19 white persons and many Indians.

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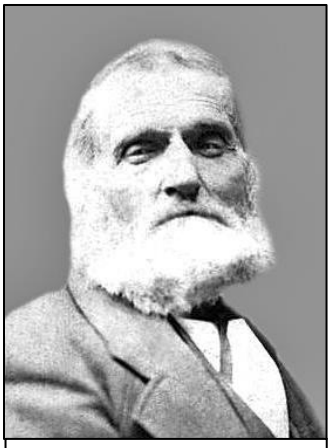
[215] The Provo location of the mill was about 12th N. and 200 W.

[216] William W. Smith's health began to decline in the spring of 1884, and his older brother Thomas Washington Smith, who was the bishop in Pahreah, invited William and Eliza to move south to regain his health. William died there in December at the age of 75 of "dyspepsia," and his wife Eliza Mathis returned to Santaquin where she died two years later.

[217] John Clifton Moffit, The Story of Provo, Utah, 1975.



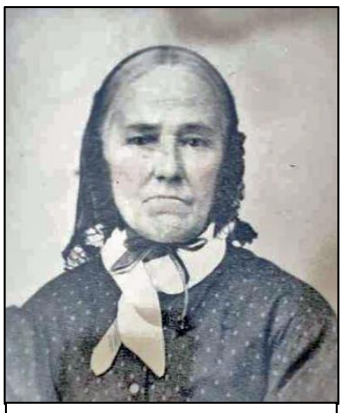
John Radford

In November 1854 Thomas Washington Smith and John Radford were called to Fillmore to help build the town, which was to become the new territorial capital.

President Young noted when he passed through Provo in January 1855 that the city had 860 families, about 5,000 people. Five hundred men were capable of bearing arms.

George A. Smith became concerned about a lack of energy on the part of Provoans regarding schools, writing, "Although a town of 2,500 inhabitants, its school facilities are behind any other in the territory that has come under my knowledge." Lucius N. Scovil, the Provo superintendent of Public Works, was concerned not only by insufficient school facilities, but also their underutilization. In February 1855 he reported that there were 516 scholars in Provo between five and 20 years, but only 225 were enrolled in any school. Orson Hyde, Chancellor of the University of Deseret, received the report and challenged Provo to "awake and finish their seminary."

Histories of the Ross and Smith families reveal little about the early education of their children. Since they lived out of town until the summer of 1853, the children may not have attended school before then. We are told that when Mary Elizabeth Ross was ten (around 1855) she was attending a "little log school house" with her future husband Joseph Parker, and that is when he decided to someday marry her. At that time the Thomas Ross family had seven children. The three boys were probably not in school, as James was 19 and the two youngest, John and Robert were only two and four. But the four girls, Margaret, Leah, Mary Elizabeth and Nancy were all of school age. Melvin and Rebecca Ross had five children between six and sixteen. Only three-year-old Rebecca was too young to be in school. William W. and Eliza Mathis Smith had 12-year-old Margaret, nine-year-old William Robert, and six-year-old Emma. Robert Ross wrote that his first school teacher was "a Mrs. Bumel,"[218] who taught the children in one small log room. Robert was five years younger than Nancy, so this would have been as late as 1858 when Nancy was ten. Their school was only large enough for a few children.



Sally Bunnell

Bishop Blackburn wrote in his diary on June 12, 1855, "Indians camped in our grain field. I rode to see the governor. He advised me to buy them out of the fields. I returned and

[218] This was Sally Conrad Bunnell, a 48-year-old woman from Elmira, New York, who at the age of 19 was a housekeeper for Peter Witmer when Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery were translating the golden plates in the upper room of the Whitmer home from May to June 1829. Her aunt was married to David Whitmer. Sally was probably one of the 60 people present when the Mormon Church was organized on April 6, 1830, and she married David Bunnell nine days later in the Whitmer home. Sally's boys and one daughter were married, but she had three girls who probably attended school in her Provo house along with the Ross children. The Bunnells lived on the west side of what is now University Avenue, owning the block between First and Second North, which is possibly where she taught. Two of her sons later settled in Center Creek where the Ross family lived in the Heber Valley.

on the 13th I bought the Indians out of our fields. Paid them $75 thinking it better than to have another war."

Five major events occurred during the next two years which rocked the Mormon culture.

First, the summer of 1855 brought a terrible grasshopper plague. Although the cricket plague of 1848 and the miraculous rescue by seagulls have become one of the most famous stories in Mormon history, grasshopper invasions were a persistent and recurring problem. The *Deseret News* reported on June 25, 1855: "The grasshoppers filled the sky for three miles deep, or as far as they could be seen without the aid of telescopes, and somewhat resembling a snowstorm." Grasshoppers would fly overhead several hours a day for two or three weeks. Grasshoppers had appeared in Utah nearly every year since 1851, but in 1855 it was estimated that 70% of grains, vegetables, and fruits were destroyed, the worst year of the century. The first, second, and third sowings of wheat, corn and buckwheat were ruined. This was compounded by a greatly reduced runoff from mountain snows and by the immigration that year of 4,225 new persons to the Valley, not to mention the increasing pressure on the herds by starving Indians. The Church and most cattle owners moved their herds to higher winter areas for feed, and then winter came early and was the most severe since the Mormons arrived in 1847.[219]

Bishop Blackburn recorded the following in his diary:

> In August 1855, a memorable blessing was given to the people of Provo in the shape of a hard, white substance found upon the leaves of young cottonwood trees. We shook this substance, which was very sweet, into tubs of water and boiled it down with our process, when it congealed into sugar about the color of our common brown sugar. The Saints in Provo made between three and four thousand pounds of this kind of sugar. I told the Saints that it was direct gift from the Lord, and they freely paid their tithing (with) it. Among other products, I took three hundred thirty-three pounds of this sugar to Salt Lake City to the general tithing office. On explaining the matter to President Brigham Young, whom I met at the door, he declared it was "sugar from the Lord."

The tithing sugar was distributed among the men working on the temple and other public works in Salt Lake City.

On December 3, 1855, Thomas Ross married fifteen-year-old Margaret Marie Mecham as a polygamous wife in Provo. Her family had moved to the Provo First Ward three years earlier. Her 18-year-old married sister Emeline had married a polygamist named George Sweat a year earlier, and they had six younger siblings. Their father was a beekeeper, wheelwright, nurseryman, and also a school teacher in Provo. Margaret moved into the Ross house with Rachel and her family, acting as a maid and nurse for Rachel's children. This all happened during one of the worst winters in Utah history, which was followed by a second grasshopper plague the next summer.

Margaret Mecham in later years

[219] Davis Bitton and Linda P. Wilcox, Pestiferous Ironclads: The Grasshopper Problem in Pioneer Utah, Utah Historical Quarterly. Volume 46, Number 4, Fall 1978.

Sometime in 1856 Thomas bought 36 acres of meadow and pasture land from Andrew Stewart for $65 bordering on Utah Lake.[220] Stewart was a surveyor who had built the first adobe house and ran the first store in Provo.

Grasshoppers destroyed many of the crops again that year, amounting to about two-thirds of the grain crop. When combined with the sizable immigration that year it meant hunger not only for Utah Valley, but throughout Utah.

In August, Nancy Ross Kilbreth, an older sister of Thomas Ross, arrived in Salt Lake City from Iowa with nine-year-old Roanna, her only surviving child.[221] Having been born between her siblings Melvin and Thomas Ross, Nancy probably headed straight to Provo to live with one of them.[222] A year later Nancy went to Salt Lake to marry Thomas Washington Smith, Rachel Ross' brother. Thomas had many years earlier married Nancy's youngest sister, Mary Ann Ross, who died young in Gibson County. By this time he had moved from Fillmore to Dixie with his two other wives but was in Salt Lake City for General Conference.[223] A couple who had been acquainted with the Smith and Ross families in Camp Creek named Jefferson and Mary Dimick arrived in the Valley on about the same date but in a different wagon company. They also settled in Provo with their six children before moving to Spanish Fork in 1864.

Nancy Ross Kilbreth

The second major event to shake and shape Utah culture was a religious retrenchment, now called the Reformation, which greatly affected all church members including the families living in Utah County. It was a centrally directed period of renewed emphasis on spirituality and strict conformity to doctrine, which did much to separate the most loyal Mormons from the rest. It may partly have been a reaction to the hardships of the extended drought the people were experiencing.

According to former Church Historian, B.H. Roberts, the Reformation began in the Kaysville Stake on September 13, 1856, to the theme "Saints, live your religion." On the third day of the conference, five hundred people were re-baptized as a sign that they had renewed their religious covenants. Provo Bishop Elias Blackburn, whose diary we have already quoted, supported the Reformation and reflected

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[220] Brett Lambourne, Lambourne and Child Family History in Thomas' Memories.

[221] When she was 15, Nancy's daughter Roanna married John Stephens Smith, the 22-year-old son of William Stephens and Susan Reynolds, another of Thomas Washington Smith's wives (and adopted by Thomas Washington Smith.)

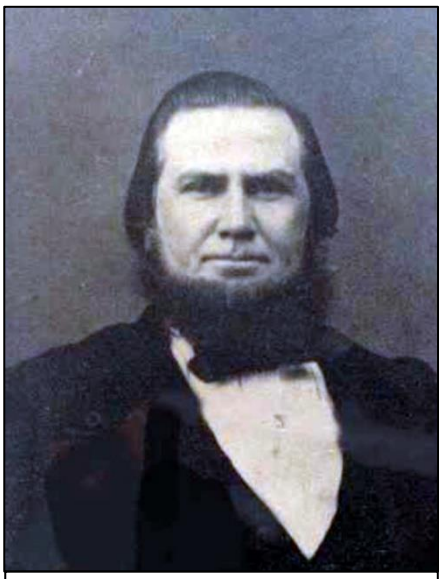
[222] Nancy Kilbreth was sealed to John Houston Kilbreath in the President's office on December 28, 1856, although he was not present, which suggests that he had died previously. However, a John Kilbreth from Tennessee married Sophia Harris in 1859 in Pike County, Illinois and died in Tennessee in 1880.

[223] Nancy was also sealed to a deceased man named Thomas James Younger on October 8, 1857, five months after her marriage to Thomas Washington Smith (she was not sealed to TWS until ten years later on June 15, 1867, when he was also sealed to her deceased sister). Younger had died in 1834, so this was a posthumous sealing, suggesting that they might have been married previously. If so, Younger died when Nancy was 22 years old, and he was 73 and her first two children would have been his.

his experience of it. Only fifteen days after the movement began he noted in his journal that he spoke on the Reformation in church.

The third shock came a month later. Franklin D. Richards, the returning president of the European Mission, reached Salt Lake City the day before October General Conference in 1856 with news that two companies of handcarts were stranded in a winter storm in Wyoming. Brigham Young at once dismissed the conference, calling on church members to provide wagons, mules, supplies, and teamsters for a rescue mission. Twenty-year-old Andrew Ross was one of the rescuers. That month 250 relief wagons were sent.

Bishop Blackburn was attending conference. In his journal he wrote: "President Young preached. Called for 60 teams and 12 tons of flour to go back on the plains for the poor of the handcarts…. I raised for the expedition 2,000 pounds of flour and two mule teams, etc."



Bishop Elias Blackburn

While the handcart rescue was underway, the stake conference held in Provo on November 15th and 16th addressed the theme of the Reformation. After the meeting Bishop Blackburn wrote, "In the office, many came to me to confess their wrongs. The reformation still goes on well. Many confessing their sins." George W. Bean noted in his own journal, "There was a great awakening among the Saints in Provo this winter, many confessed their sins and turned away from their evil practices…. We were all re-baptized for the remission of our sins…. A pamphlet was then prepared and distributed to Bishops, who were to appoint special block missionaries to visit each family and ask them the questions."[224]

The Bishop wrote on December 2, 1857, "This day I got out a report for President (George A.) Smith of all those that had been cut off the Church in Provo up to this time…a long list, not pleasant to remember." Three days later he wrote, "The number of offenders was 41 persons…a very interesting court lasting three days. All were proven guilty. All made their acknowledgement to the court…. Some paid fourfold."

In December Bishop Blackburn raised 10 more tons of flour and 28 horse teams to go back on the trail, surpassing Brigham's request for seven tons and 10 teams. In the margin of his diary, he added: The saints in Provo did well in donating. Did their whole duty." The Provo Saints sheltered 141 of the suffering immigrants in their homes.

As a part of the Reformation, Thomas Ross and his eldest son, James Andrew, recorded the following deed on February 2, 1857. "In consideration of the good will which (we) have to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (we) give and convey unto Brigham Young, Trustee in Trust for said Church, his successors in Office and assign all our claim and ownership of the following described property." All their

[224] See the appendix for the specific questions.

land, buildings, animals, wagons and household goods were listed and signed over to the Church with a total value of $2,195.00.

In March there was a flurry of marriages in the Ross family.

Leah Lucinda Ross

On March 3rd, Thomas and Rachel's oldest two daughters married Sidney Rigdon Carter in President Young's office. It was two days after Peggy Ann's 18th birthday, and Leah Lucinda was 15. The next day, their oldest son, James Andrew Ross, married two young women of the Tennessee group: One was his first cousin once removed, Sarah Ann Smith, daughter of Richard Smith. She was 19. The other was Melinda Cummings, a 17-year-old (Andrew and Melinda were divorced sometime before July 1864, when Melinda remarried.) whose parents were John and Rachel Ann. The two girls were close friends, at least up until then. Andrew was evidently infertile, as neither of the women bore him children.[225] Eight days later Andrew's uncle, Melvin Ross, married his third wife, Martha Ann Nelson in Provo. Martha was a widow with five unmarried children ages 10-20.

Isaac Ross in later years

Melvin's 18 year-old-second son Isaac got into trouble with the bishop that June. In his journal Bishop Blackburn wrote: "Attended meeting. Disfellowshipped Isaac Ross for contempt of Bishop's court, he being very unruly." Nonetheless, Isaac received his endowment April 22, 1857.

The fourth major event to affect life in Utah began at the Pioneer Day celebration in Big Cottonwood Canyon in 1857, when Porter Rockwell reached Brigham Young with the disturbing news that the U.S. Army was mobilizing at Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas against the Mormons. In August, Brigham activated the Nauvoo Legion, which included all able-bodied men in the territory between 15 and 60 years of age and sent a reconnaissance unit under militia Colonel Robert T. Burton to spy on the oncoming regiments and protect LDS immigrants traveling the Mormon trail. The Utah militia was ordered to be kept in readiness for an expedition to the mountains to prevent the entering of the approaching army. On August 15th, Col. Robert T. Burton left Salt Lake City with 70 men and arrived at Ft. Bridger on the 21st.

Old feelings of persecution reminiscent of the troubles in Missouri and Nauvoo returned with a vengeance (literally, as it turned out) to the Mormon community, which had been fueled three months earlier by the assassination of the apostle Parley P. Pratt in Arkansas by Hector McLean, the estranged husband of one of Pratt's plural wives, which Brigham Young compared to the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. Then in August, Almon W. Babbitt, the secretary and treasurer of the Territory of Utah,

[225] Nor did his third wife, Catherine Anderson whom he later married in 1879.

was killed 120 miles west of Fort Kearney, Wyoming while carrying a large amount of money which was lost in the attack. The money had been allocated for the territorial government. The official account reported that he was killed by Indians, but suspicion fell upon Porter Rockwell. News of this reached the press from coast to coast, generating anti-Mormon sentiment.

Then on September 11, 1857, group of California immigrants traveling from Arkansas was brutally attacked by a Mormon militia group and cooperating Indians at a resting spot on the trail in the Pine Valley Mountains 50 miles west of Cedar City known as Mountain Meadows. About 120 were killed.[226]

Four days later, Brigham Young declared the Territory of Utah to be under martial law and forbade the entry of troops into the valley. Large numbers of armed militia were ordered into Echo Canyon and other points to intercept the soldiers. By September 29th the active militia numbered about 2,250 men. A detail of ten militia men from Provo was stationed on a lofty hill opposite Bridal Veil Falls in Provo Canyon with a circular breastwork of rocks to watch for a surprise entry by Johnston's army. A large tree was felled across the river to serve as a bridge. There was a spring near the guard station which is now one of the sources of supply for the Provo water system. Many of the young men from Provo were conscripted into action at all the sites.

Buckley's Chute, possibly the location of the Provo Canyon Guard Station in 1857.

Seemingly unaffected by the impending war, William Cummings (of Gibson County) and Joseph Parker, Thomas Ross' future son-in-law, trapped for beavers in Provo Canyon and in the Provo Valley (now known as Heber Valley) that very fall. They stayed in the valley all winter trapping and built four cabins. Along with Andrew Ross and two other Provo men they returned to the valley the next summer with their livestock.[227]

Johnston's Army went into winter quarters on November 15th at Camp Scott, two miles from Ft. Bridger. Three days later Bishop Blackburn wrote, "I took my pants, vest, shoes, gloves, and sent them to the boys in the army, as clothing was very scarce. On the 19th I started five loads of provisions to the armies. Very busy getting off men and provisions."

That winter was very severe, and the snow was deep, forcing the people in Provo to harvest willows from the Provo River bottoms for firewood. Parties were sent into the mountains and slid timber down on the snow. That January Brigham Young ordered the stakes and wards to raise an army of 1,000 men for one year.

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[226] Thomas Washington Smith had moved from Fillmore to Washington by then but did not participate in the incident. His name does not appear among the 52 men listed by the Mountain Meadows Monument Foundation. https://mmmf.org/the-story/the-perpetrators

[227] William James Mortimer, How Beautiful upon the Mountains, DUP 1963, p. 323.

Near the end of February, Colonel Thomas Kane, the old friend of the Mormons, arrived in Salt Lake City from his home in Pennsylvania. He had come via the Panama Canal from San Bernardino, California hoping to negotiate a settlement to the standoff between the Mormons and the federal government. He met first with Brigham Young and then at Fort Scott with Alfred Cumming, who had been brought by the army to be the new governor to replace Brigham.

On Sunday, March 21st, a special conference was called in the old Salt Lake tabernacle, where it was decided to evacuate the Salt Lake Valley. The first five hundred families were to be sent at once, beginning with the poorest and most helpless. Brigham Young also ordered an expedition to explore the White Mountains of Nevada 200 miles west of the valley to find a suitable place for permanent resettlement.

Settlers in the northern settlements of Utah boarded up their homes and farms and began to move south, leaving small groups of men behind to burn the settlements if necessary. The movement may have included up to 30,000 people. According to Bishop Blackburn, who attended the special conference, "People who had not teams of their own were moved by people who had. And hundreds of men and teams from Utah County and south voluntarily and without pay, went to the northern settlements, and brought the Saints south." Bishop Blackburn himself raised 20 teams to bring families to Utah County. The area to be evacuated was all north of Utah County, and many families went no further than necessary.[228]

Blackburn transcribed the following entertaining letter from President Young:

> Dear Bishop Elias H. Blackburn—I design to soon begin to move my family, provisions, stoves, musical instruments, and such other articles as may be needed and cannot be saved in caches, as far as Provo, and I would like to have you secure me one or two large halls in your city in which I can shelter my family, and some storerooms for my property. You may wish to know how much room I may need; from ten square feet to half of your city, I am not particular. How many are you going to move to this place? you may ask; only a few, all who live in this city. You will understand that we shall need many teams and wagons for this movement, probably not over 2,000 at first, and we expect you to assist us in this matter as much as you can consistently, beginning as soon as you can after next Sunday the 29th. As we shall not sow nor plant any more here this season, you will understand the propriety of raising all the potatoes, flax and sugar cane you may be able to. Brigham Young

On April 1st a two-day fast was undertaken to raise money for the poor.

For a brief time, Provo became by far the largest city in the territory. President Young's office was in a small adobe building on the north side of Center Street, a little west of what is now University Avenue. Wilford Woodruff and John Taylor also moved to Provo, where temporary houses were erected for them. The Church's official office, the historian's office, and the secretary's office were in the back room of the music hall in Provo, probably in the building James A. Smith had built.

Bishop Blackburn wrote that he had found about 50 rooms for the president and the people to move into. "He, the president, was well pleased with what I had done. About this time all of the general tithing grain, flour, etc. was consigned to me at Provo for me to take charge of same. Ox team trains

[228] Journal History, April 10, 1858.

arrived daily…with 30 wagons each loaded with wheat and flour, which kept me very busy…." He stored them on the block where the court house now stands.

One of the many who came to Provo during the Great Move was the family of Henry McMullin, who had immigrated three years earlier from Maine and settled in Weber. His son Henry Lufkin, who was five years old at the time recalled, "(Father) traded a horse for a pair of old oxen to move his family from Weber to Provo…. At the time of the move, we went to Salt Lake City and from there to Provo. Lived there two years." Henry Lufkin McMullin's 10-year-old brother Albert would later marry Nancy Jane Ross. Henry's half-brother, Willard McMullin, also moved from Weber but didn't stop until he reached Payson.

On April 5th Governor Cumming went with Kane to Salt Lake City.

Brigham Young, the most prominent visitor in Provo, called a meeting at the bowery on June 6, 1858, to discuss building a road up Provo Canyon. He felt that with 500 workers it could be completed in about 15 days. John Crook, who was later one of the early settlers of Heber, was at the meeting. He wrote that Provo was filled with idle refugees and Brigham wanted to put them to work. The next night President Young, Heber C. Kimball, Daniel H. Wells, several of the Twelve Apostles, and a large number of brethren, reassembled at the bowery, where the Provo Canyon Company was organized. Brigham Young took 200 shares of stock. His son-in-law, Feramorz Little was appointed to superintend the making of the road, and W. G. Mills was named clerk of the company. The idea was not new; three years earlier, the legislature had issued a contract to William Wall and others to build the road.

Brigham Young was back in still-evacuated Salt Lake City on June 11th to meet with peace commissioners in the Council House, after which the government peace commissioners visited Provo four days later and addressed an audience of about 4,000 persons in the bowery. On June 26, 1858, General Johnson and 2,500 men[229] marched through Salt Lake City and across the Jordan River to establish Camp Floyd in Cedar Valley west of Lehi. About 1,500 people were still in the northern settlements. Some had military assignments to protect or torch property as might be ordered.

On July 1, 1858, President Young gave the faithful Bishop Elias Blackburn further instructions, as Blackburn recorded the next day,

> He called me (in) to report about the same time and place as yesterday, and I felt a wonderful influence with him, the Spirit and Power of God. He stated, "What I told you to do yesterday, do not do it, as I am going home at 6 p.m. tonight." I was much overcome, as the testimony of the Spirit was that the Lord had been with him--Immediately I went to Captain J. W. Loveless and called upon him to furnish his company to go with President Young home. I returned and had a good time with the President and at 5 p.m. he blessed me, and he and his party returned to Salt Lake City…. I had all my wheat ground and the flour boxed up ready to move south. Enough to last my family one and a half years—when the Lord took the will for the deed and accepted the offering, and the Saints went back to their homes.

One government soldier, Charles A. Scott, recorded his impression of those returning home on July 6th.

[229] Some sources give the number as 1,400.

> The road between Provo and Salt Lake City is nearly lined with Mormon families returning to their homes in the North. They are the most destitute looking set I ever saw, pigs, poultry, white-headed children, mothers and wives all heaped promiscuously together in wagons with barely sufficient clothing to cover their nakedness. To judge the men by their appearance, one would think that their coats were made from the same pattern that Joseph wore from the many colors they contain, or else old bed quilts are a spontaneous production in this section of the country. It is said that some of the women were so near naked, they avoided the road.

Some of the families were gone for 2-3 months before coming home. Some never returned and settled in Utah County. One of these was the McMullin family. Mary Susan McMullin was born in Provo on June 27, 1858. Her father Henry rented a farm in Provo from Dr. Dunyon.[230]

Margaret Mecham Ross' first child was born in Provo, on October 18, 1858. She named her Polly Ann. Margaret was 17.

A federal judge named John Cradlebaugh arrived in Salt Lake City that November, a day ahead of the newly appointed U.S. District Attorney, A. Wilson. Under the authority of the new governor and General Johnston's troops, a federal court system was being set up to replace the justices of the peace who had been installed by the Church-controlled territorial government, and to enforce federal law, which they felt had been neglected. On January 30, 1859, Elias Blackburn wrote, "…a very bitter spirit comes from Camp Floyd. We hear that Judge Cradlebaugh is coming to hold court in Provo City."

The court began in Provo on March 7th. Bishop Blackburn wrote, "We, that is a number of Bishops and others, had an interview (in Salt Lake City) with President Young. He told us the plans of our enemies was to hang him, and some bishops. He told us how to act and how many men I should take into the mountains from Provo—a very solemn council."

Elias Blackburn went back to Provo as directed, and after one day at home, he took seventy men into "Rock Canyon" in obedience to the council. (This was the name in those days for Provo Canyon—they were headed to the Provo Valley up the new road.) It was about this time that Thomas Ross moved his young second wife, Margaret and her infant to a cabin in the Provo Valley, probably one of the cabins which had been built the previous winter by William Cummings and Joseph Parker. Thomas may have been one of the seventy men fleeing possible prosecution for polygamy.

Cradlebaugh convened his court in the new Provo seminary on Main Street (now Fifth West) and called a grand jury. One of the jurors was George W. Bean. During the jury instruction, a detachment of about 100 men was brought into Provo from Camp Floyd for security, the officers taking up quarters in the lower part of the court building. When Provo Mayor B. K. Bullock requested their removal, the judge responded by calling for more soldiers, and General Johnston sent eight companies of infantry, one company of cavalry, and one of artillery.

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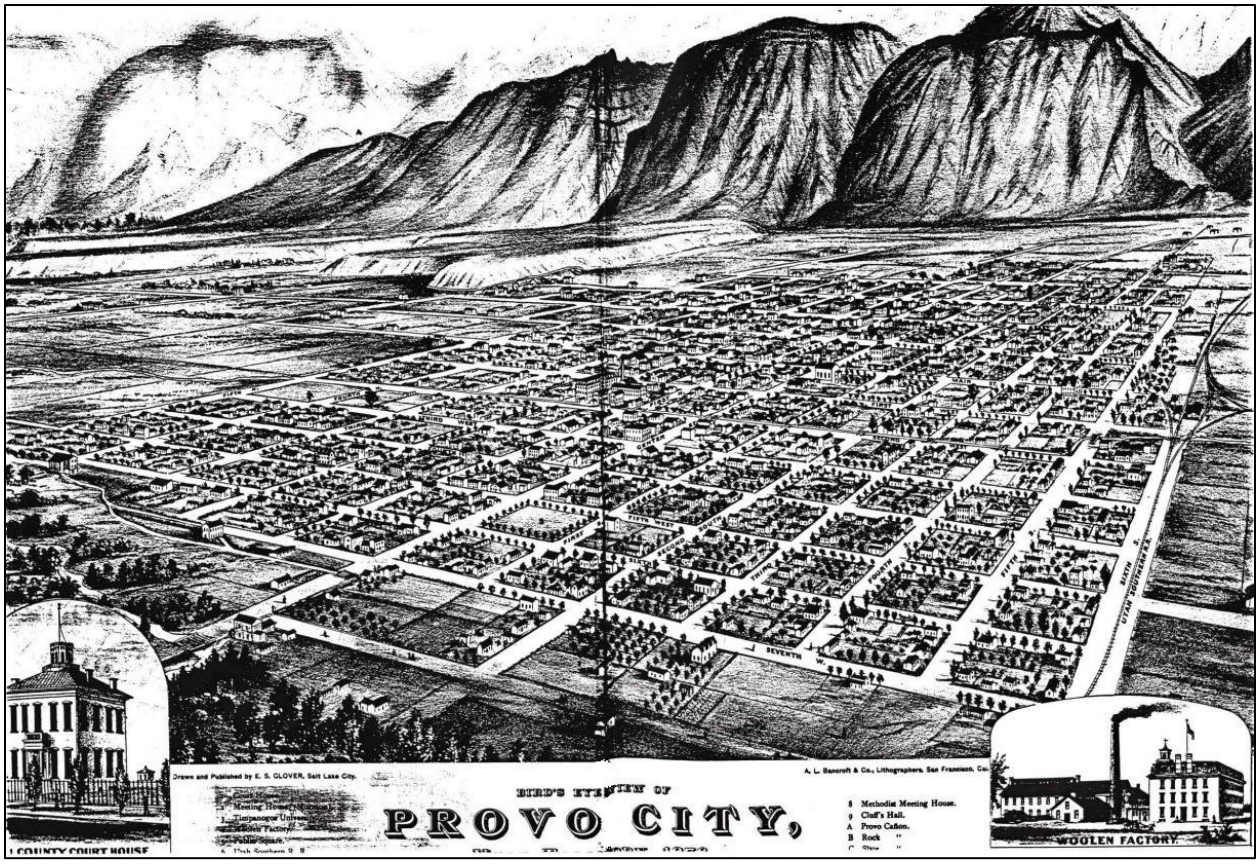
[230] Dunyon was a physician who had joined the Mormon Church August 1, 1850, during a visit to Salt Lake City. He was appointed to the City Council the following January. He later moved to Provo, where he had purchased some land, but soon moved back to Salt Lake where he allegedly owned two city blocks of houses. Around 1865 Dr. Dunyon bought the "Halfway Station and Inn," an eight room adobe home with two large barns for teams and wagons at the Point of the Mountain from Porter Rockwell and a homestead of 640 acres.

In response to a great uproar among the people in Provo and Church authorities, the troops were later withdrawn through an order of the new federal governor, who was already at odds with General Johnston. The crisis ended in May when the grand jury refused to indict, and the discouraged Judge Cradlebaugh left for Nevada Territory. Prisoners who had been brought to Provo under charges for the murders at Mountain Meadows, Springville and elsewhere were set free on July 7th under orders from the proper civil authority. The polygamy arrests that Brigham had feared did not happen.

Henry McMullin had been living since the previous fall with his family up the South Fork of Provo Canyon 3.1 miles southeast of modern Vivian Park, where he operated a sawmill for the former neighbor of James A. Smith, Shadrack Holdaway, who built it in the spring of 1859.[231] When Henry McMullin wasn't running the mill, he hauled logs.

[231] Holdaway, a Tennessean (not from Gibson County) was a former member of the Mormon Battalion, who after his discharge brought home $3,000 in gold dust from the American River in Sacramento and settled into a primitive cabin at Fort Provo in December 1850. He set up carding machinery and a blacksmith shop on the Provo River near the Smiths' flour mill until they were forced to move back into town in 1853 because of Indians. He helped to lay out and build the Provo Canyon road before building the sawmill on the South Fork. He soon discovered it was on Indian summer hunting grounds, which cost him a tribute of several steers each year. The spring of 1860 Lucinda Holdaway lived at the mill with her husband and family until August. Shadrack Holdaway homesteaded several areas including the east side of Utah Lake and a quarter section between 2nd west and Canyon Road east of the present B.Y.U. campus. His daughter Elizabeth married Charles Conrad in 1873 and the couple homesteaded 150 acres in the South Fork of Provo Canyon at the site of the sawmill Elizabeth's father had established, according to the couple's history in *FamilySearch* memories KWNV-XF7, receiving the patent in 1891. (Paul W. Conrad, Sawmill Located in the South Fork of Provo Canyon, June 1997, memories, Shadrack Holdaway KWV3-KCL.)


Drawn and Published by E. S. GLOVER, Salt Lake City.
A. L. Bancroft & Co., Lithographers, San Francisco, Cal.
BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF
PROVO CITY,
Meeting House.
Tabernacle Under Construction.
Woolen Factory.
Public Square.
A. Utah Southern R. R.
SEVENTH
SIXTH
FIFTH
FOURTH
THIRD
SECOND
FIRST
UTAH SOUTHERN R.R.
6 Methodist Meeting House.
9 Chief's Hall.
A Provo Cañon.
B Rock "
C Stone "
COUNTY COURT HOUSE
WOOLEN FACTORY.

Chapter Eight – The McMullin Family

One of the earliest archeological sites in America reveals that the Red Paint People lived on the island now known as North Haven around 3,000 B.C. It is possible that the Vikings visited the same spot around 1,000 A.D. British Captain Martin Pring coined the name Fox Islands for the many foxes he saw when he landed there in 1603, although now they are seldom if ever sighted there. But it was another 163 years before English speaking people settled the islands. At that time Maine, then a part of Massachusetts, was controlled by Native Americans, who through the influence of French trappers kept English settlers out of the territory until after the French and Indian War was over in 1759. The Fox Islands were not permanently settled until after the Revolutionary War.

The south island, Vinalhaven, is said to have first been inhabited by an Englishman in 1765, when Francis Cogswell of Ipswich, Massachusetts set up a sawmill powered by the tides of Carver's mill stream where the town is now. The north island, now called North Haven, was settled three years earlier in 1762 by David Wooster, who harvested tall pines for the use by the British as masts for their ships.

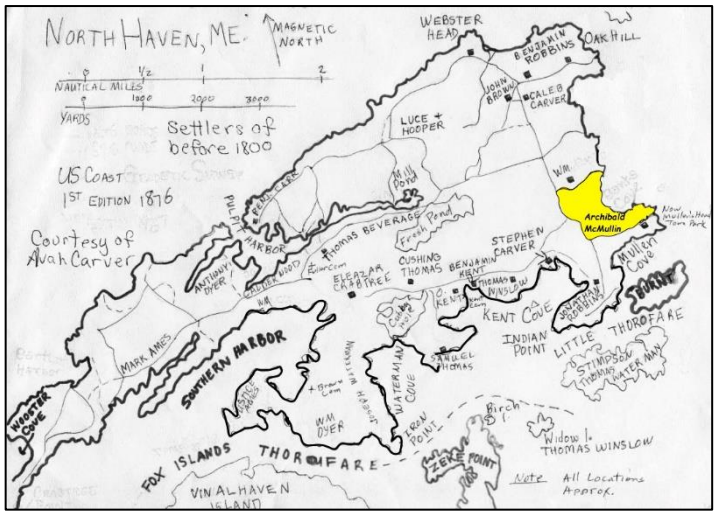
Jonathon Robbins and his wife Sarah Yeats had been among the very first settlers of the north island, along with David Wooster and Lucy Crockett, arriving from Attleboro, Massachusetts in 1766 prior to the war. The Robbins' family was one of the many early settlers to leave the islands during the Revolutionary War for fear of the British Navy who ruled the seas, returning to their former home in Attleboro, Massachusetts, where they had been a long-standing family. However, David and Lucy Wooster stayed, not needing to fear the British, who needed their masts.

In 1782, 22-year-old Sarah Robbins, the daughter of Jonathan and Sarah, married a 23-year-old Revolutionary War veteran named Archibald McMullin, who had been discharged in 1780 after serving as a soldier at West Point and at White Plains under General Washington. In the detailed McMullin family history,[232] Archibald's father, who was also named Archibald McMullin, is said to have come with his first wife Martha to America from Belfast as an indentured servant, settling in Dedham, Massachusetts. However, this is probably incorrect. Based on more recent research, the pedigree chart in *FamilySearch* shows a much more complicated family tree, albeit with many factual contradictions. There, Archibald Sr.'s father is given as Alexander McMullin, born in Scotland, although his grandfather, Allister McMullin was a Scottish prisoner of war who had been exiled in Massachusetts Colony in 1650, 15 years before Alexander's birth. There is obviously much left to be learned about this family.

When the war was over, Archibald Jr. and Sarah moved to North Haven and created a farm on or near his father-in-law's estate known as Indian Point, possibly as a participant in a war bounty program to sell land in Maine Territory for $1 per acre to veterans. In 1785 he became one of the signers of a petition to allow possession of the lots already occupied by islanders.

From pension and probate records we can learn something about Archibald's farm. It was 66 acres of which one sixth was arable and the remainder was mostly swamp, valued at $2 per acre. It was on what is still called Mullin Point on the extreme eastern end of the island, and it borders on both the north and south shores. Years after the land was no longer owned by the McMullin family, it was lost after failure to pay property taxes. Rather than losing the property to wealthy summer visitors, the North Island council acquired it for the value of the taxes due. It is now the spot where the town goes for

[232] Beth Johnson, The McMullin Story. *FamilySearch* memories, Albert Eals McMullin KWNR-PB6.



celebrations such as the Fourth of July. The park was undeveloped when I visited in 2001, and the imprint of the cellar of the house was still visible. Old fruit trees were growing there, and the well still existed, although the water would not pass modern standards for drinking. Much of it is lowland, but not really a swamp. The land is simply beautiful with views of wooded Maine forest to the west and Atlantic beaches to the north, south, and east. And its value is now far more than $2 per acre. The last building lot on the shore of North Haven sold for more than $1 million, and the McMullin farm could have been divided into twenty such lots. No land on either island is very good for crops due to the short growing season and severe winters. Archibald ran a few cows and a small herd of sheep on it.

Sarah Robbins McMullin bore seven children and then died. When Archibald married Sarah Lufkin on January 1, 1814, he probably had only one child still at home--five-year-old Nancy--since Francis, the next youngest was 20. Sarah Lufkin's only child was our subject, Henry McMullin, who was born in 1816, and she died before 1819 at around the age of 45. Archibald married a widow named Abigail Shirley in 1820, who brought her daughter, Catharine Curry, into the family from her prior marriage. At this time Henry was five with two 12-year-old sisters---one a half-sister and the other a step sister. When he was eight, a little half-brother was born: Willard Glover, the only child of Archibald and Abigail.

Archibald McMullin died in 1837, just six months before the visit of the great missionary Wilford Woodruff to the Fox Islands, when Henry was 21 and Willard was 15. Along with their mother, Henry and Willard received all of Archibald's estate except for one dollar bequeathed to each of their half-siblings. Willard is said to have been receiving education to become a sea captain.[233]

Wilford Woodruff had just returned from a mission to the Southern States and had not yet been called to Britain when he met Phoebe Carter in Kirtland, Ohio. Three months later they were married, and three months after that he was called by Joseph Smith on a mission to the "isles of the sea." Perhaps not coincidentally, Phoebe's parents lived in Scarborough, Maine, a jumping off point to the Fox Islands. Traveling first to Scarborough to visit Phoebe's parents and to Connecticut to visit his own parents, Wilford Woodruff and his companion Jonathon Hale set out to fulfill the Prophet's call.

On August 19, 1837, the missionaries were able to hitch a night ride on a sloop from Owls Head, which took them ten miles across Penobscot Bay to the North Fox Island, where they arrived at 2 a.m. Sunday night and walked around until daylight. After receiving breakfast from a friendly farmer's wife, they found their way to the Baptist church, which was already in session. They were escorted by the deacon to the stand, where the minister introduced them and invited them to return at five p.m. to preach. Between meetings the minister entertained them at his home and accepted a Book of Mormon, which

[233] Brett Lambourne, Lambourne and Child, Family History, page 121, *FamilySearch*.

they lent him for a week. After the missionaries' sermon that evening they set up appointments at several school houses to teach on the four following evenings. Woodruff wrote to the church leaders in Kirtland that on the following Sunday of August 27th, not a single Baptist showed up at their regular meetinghouse. The missionary pair staged nineteen meetings in their first two weeks on the island. Wilford Woodruff recorded in his journal on Sunday, September 3, 1837, that when the missionaries opened a door for baptism, a respectable sea captain named Justus Ames and his wife Betsy offered themselves as candidates. They were baptized in a nearby bay by Elder Hale.

Woodruff did not mention any McMullins in his journal, but it was from him that they first heard of Mormonism. Willard McMullin wrote in his autobiography, "In my home town I heard the Gospel preached by Elder Wilford Woodruff and Johnathan H. Hale in the summer of 1837. I was convinced of the truth of the Latter-day work the first sermon I heard."[234] But neither he nor any of the McMullins or Pierce family stepped forward at that time for baptism. The next day the missionaries visited the South Island. After preaching and baptizing on both islands, Elder Hale returned to the mainland in a sailboat belonging to Valentine Ames on October 2nd and returned to Kirtland, replaced as Wilford's companion by his wife Phoebe, who had been staying with her parents in Scarborough. Wilford Woodruff and his wife spent almost a year on the two islands with a couple of side trips including a visit to Bangor until August of 1838, when Wilford received a letter calling him to be a member of the Quorum of the Twelve and instructing him to proceed immediately to Far West, Missouri with any converts from the islands he could bring.

After annoying delays and much trouble, 43 saints from the island and about ten more from the mainland met Elder Woodruff at the home of Phoebe's father in Scarborough on October 3, 1838, to prepare for a winter trek to Missouri, which presaged the later crossing of the plains by the Mormon pioneers. There were deaths and severe hardship. But coincidentally, the main group of Mormons had been kicked out of Missouri that same winter, so the Fox Islands party eventually joined the Saints that spring in Nauvoo. The pioneers in that company were named in Wilford's journal, and no McMullins were mentioned.

Obviously, a significant remnant of the new branch remained on the Fox Islands, and there were more converts, although Wilford Woodruff moved on to another "island of the sea," namely England, where he made many converts. The great missionary remained in contact with his Saints in Vinalhaven after he left and was actually on his way to the Fox Islands for a visit in 1844, but it was suddenly aborted when he received word in Boston of the martyrdom of the prophet.

Shortly after Elder Woodruff's departure for England, a woman by the name of Susannah Trundy Luce Pierce died in Vinalhaven. Six months later on April 14, 1840, her widower, Josiah Pierce, married Jane McMullin, a much older half-sister to Henry, who was then 25 and still single. Josiah was 48 and brought several children into the marriage with him. Among them was 21-year-old Mary Pierce, his third child and the only one to join the Mormon Church.[235]

By the time of the 1840 census, Henry McMullin was 25 and listed in the census as head of his family in North Haven, which consisted of his widowed stepmother, Abigail age 60, and his stepbrother Willard Glover McMullin, 17. Henry was listed as employed in "navigation of the ocean," and Willard was

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[234] Willard Clover McMullin's Small Personal History, *FamilySearch* memories, KWJN-SLG, p. 3.
[235] Through Josiah, Mary is a 5th cousin of Abraham Lincoln. They descend from Samuel Lincoln, born in 1622.

employed in agriculture. None of them had joined the Church, but they would soon meet more Mormon missionaries.

A boy named William Hyde[236] grew up in Liberty, New York as a neighbor to Dr. Warren A. Cowdery, a brother to Oliver Cowdery, and through this association William joined the Church at the age of 15. After being ordained a Seventy in Nauvoo on April 7, 1840, William Hyde set out with another missionary named John Herrett for the Fox Islands, on the way visiting Kirtland to preach in the temple. They arrived on the North Island July 26, 1840, and by August 20th, they had baptized 24 people. Then Elder Hyde contracted typhus and nearly died. Elder Herrett attended to his 22-year-old companion faithfully for two weeks before he fell ill himself. William Hyde recovered, but Herrett died on October 19th.

Willard McMullin wrote: "I was baptized and confirmed by Elder Wm. Hyde on the south Fox Island March 7th, 1841, and was ordained an Elder by Otis Shaw a few months later." Josiah Pierce and his daughter Mary both joined the Church three days after Willard, 2½ years after Wilford Woodruff and his party of Saints left the islands. Elder Hyde finished his mission without a companion and returned to Nauvoo by rail and steamboat on April 30, 1841, having baptized 107 people.

Wilford Woodruff returned to Maine that summer on the way home from his successful mission in England, reuniting with his wife Phoebe and his son Wilford Jr. at the home of her parents in Scarborough. According to his journal, the Apostle was in and around Scarborough from June 1 through July 10th before leaving to visit his father in Connecticut, but there is no mention in his diary of any visit to Vinalhaven.

Another pair of missionaries, Alfred Dixon from Canada and Calvin C. Pendleton, who had been called as missionaries to the eastern states in the spring of 1840, eventually made their way to proselyte in Vinalhaven for six months from July 12 through December 26, 1841.

During their tenure, Willard McMullin wrote: "In the fall of 1841 I went on a mission traveling in the state of Maine in company with Levi Grey (sic)." There is no mention of Levi Gray in the LDS missionary registry, so he was evidently a recent convert to Mormonism who had felt inspired to leave his home to preach the gospel, as many newly converted Mormon males did in those days. Levi was 38 years old with a wife and four children living in Sedgwick, a community situated on the mainland 15 miles north of Vinalhaven by sea, just beyond Deer Isle.

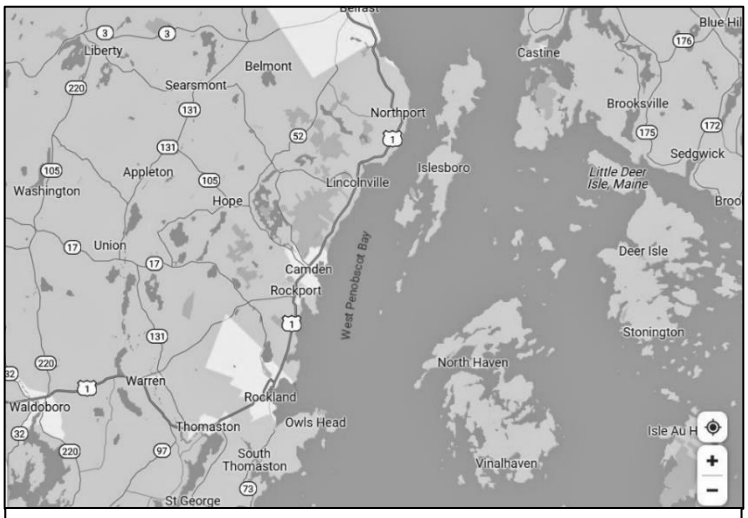
While Willard and Elder Gray were proselyting across the bay, Henry McMullin was baptized in November, eight months after his half-brother Willard and Mary Pierce, most likely by Elder Dixon or Pendleton.

From the minutes of a quarterly conference in Camden, Waldo County, Maine that December:

> Elder Otis Shaw was chosen to preside, and Calvin C. Pendleton was chosen clerk. Elder Willard McMullin addressed the assembly upon the first principles of the gospel. Elder Zechariah Hardy then arose…, (Elder Alfred Dixon and Elder O. Brown were mentioned), Otis Shaw represented the Fox Islands Branch of 109 members. The Mainland Branch was represented by elder Levi Gray, 79 members.

[236] William is not related to Orson Hyde as far as I can tell.

During his mission, Willard became acquainted with the family of Josiah Richards, who was living in Camden, eleven miles across West Penobscot Bay from his home in North Haven. Josiah's wife had died in 1836, leaving him with a 12-year-old boy and five daughters ages 14 through 22. Martha, the oldest, had been baptized in April 1841 by Elder Gray.[237] On April 14, 1842, a document of intent to marry was issued for Willard McMullin and Mary Richards, Josiah's 21-year-old daughter. They were married in Camden by William Fletcher, Esq., on May 13th, about six months into Willard's mission.[238]



Modern map of Penobscot Bay with Vinalhaven and mainland communities mentioned.

In the meantime, Henry McMullin and Mary Pierce were married in Vinalhaven[239] on April 21, 1842.[240] Henry was 27 years old, a carpenter and ship builder.

After briefly returning to Vinalhaven, Willard McMullin left for Nauvoo with his new wife Mary on June 2, 1842. He wrote:

> We left my mother weeping on shore. She exclaimed as we parted, "I shall never see my son again." My brother Henry took us across the bay in a small boat where we took a steamboat for Boston. We were prospered on our journey and on the 24th of June we landed in Nauvoo.

Two of the McMullin family biographies claim that Willard and Mary took her older sister Martha Richards to Nauvoo with them, although Willard did not say so. Martha eventually made her way to Nauvoo, but there is no evidence that any other members of the Richards family left Maine. At least two of the biographies claim that Wilford Woodruff travelled with them, but he was still in the British Isles at that time. (The family stories were probably confused by the group that Woodruff conducted to Nauvoo in 1838.) Willard and Mary bought property in Nauvoo and lived there until 1846. It was three months after the organization of the female Relief Society in Nauvoo when the McMullins arrived in Nauvoo.

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[237] It is not known whether Josiah or any of his other children were also baptized. *FamilySearch* give his death as 1842 in Nauvoo without a source except a land record in Hancock County issued February 10, 1838, which was before any Mormons arrived in Nauvoo. This must be another person named Josiah Richards, since ours appeared with his family in Camden in the 1840 census.

[238] Camden, Waldow Maine, Town and Vital Records, 1790-1891, p. 106. Also, Willard's brief autobiography gives their marriage data as May 13, 1842.

[239] Vinalhaven Records, Mosher, p. 115.

[240] Marriage banns had been published on Sept 22, 1840, for Henry McMullen and a Miss Sarah Banks both of Vinalhaven, but there was no mention of a marriage, although in the Vinalhaven Town Records, both intentions and actual marriages were regularly cited. Possibly the marriage fell through due to Henry's interest in the Mormon Church. In 1844 Sally Banks married Seth Smith.

Mary may have been one of the thirty four new members nominated by President Emma Smith and unanimously approved for membership on August 31, 1842.[241] The name of her sister Martha Richards does not appear in any of the Relief Society minutes.

The *Times and Seasons*, Nauvoo's newspaper, sheds some light on life in the Fox Islands after Willard McMullin's mission. The report of the Waldo County conference in April 1842 mentioned eighty-four members in Vinalhaven. The following year, full minutes of all five sessions of the conference appeared in the newspaper with some interesting details. Four branches met in Vinalhaven on April 15th and 16th, 1843. The total number of Saints in the four branches was 128, but the Vinalhaven branch had shrunk to 56 members, as "several had moved away since last conference…." The minutes go on to show that Henry McMullin's father-in-law, Josiah Pierce, was a leader in the conference, offering prayers, singing, administration of the bread and wine, and giving two sermons.

Willard and Mary McMullin named their first child Willard Richards McMullin. He was born in Nauvoo on June 16, 1843, a year after the couple's arrival. He died at the age of 14 months in La Harpe, about 25 miles east of Nauvoo. By the birth of Mary, their second child, in August 1846, they were back in Nauvoo, probably having moved for reasons of safety.

As persecution of the Mormons increased through 1845 there was a rush to complete the Nauvoo Temple in order to endow and seal married couples before their departure to Iowa. Willard and Mary were endowed on January 9th and sealed in marriage on January 21, 1846. It is not known where Mary's sister Martha Richards had been living in Hancock County, but when Brigham Young led the first group across the Mississippi in February 1846, she traveled with Mary, Willard, and their six month old daughter. Willard wrote in his brief autobiography,

> While we were traveling from Nauvoo to Council Bluffs, I took the measles, and my wife Mary took them from me and died about thirty-five miles east of Council Bluffs (*FamilySearch* gives Council Bluffs as Mary's death place, but I think Willard's version is the correct one) ... After we had buried her we drove to Council Bluffs, where my daughter Mary, an infant child, died…. Martha Richards was at this time with us and took care of my wife and child during their sickness, whom I afterward married.

Mary died on July 14th and the baby died just six days later. Shortly after the baby's death Willard and Martha moved across the Missouri River into Winter Quarters, where Willard built a small log house in partnership with Calvin C. Pendleton, a missionary whom he had known from Maine. Pendleton was born on the mainland across the bay from Vinalhaven, but he had moved to Ohio to go to medical school as a young man and joined the Church there. He was sent back to Maine on a mission lasting three years which spanned the time of Willard's baptism and his own local mission, so they must have been well acquainted. Pendleton converted his wife Sally Ann Seavey to Mormonism while on his mission and brought her back to Nauvoo, where he married her 13 days after his return. There he practiced

[241] The name was actually written "Mary E. Mullin. See manuscript in Nauvoo Relief Society Minute Book, Joseph Smith Papers, page 82.

medicine and taught school. At the time the cabin in Winter Quarters was built, Sally Ann Pendleton was eight months pregnant, and the couple had a two-year-old daughter.[242]

It is not clear exactly when Willard and Martha got married. When they moved into the cabin with the Pendletons, Martha was 34 and Willard was 24.[243] Family stories claim that their marriage was at the suggestion of Brigham Young. If so, he advised it after the time that Willard and Martha reached Winter Quarters and before he left for the Valley with the Vanguard group on April 7, 1847. It could not have been after he returned from the Valley to organize the major exodus from Winter Quarters for the spring of 1848 in which Willard and Martha eventually took part, for he reached Winter Quarters on October 31, 1847, about six weeks after the estimated date that Martha conceived their first child.

Willard Glover McMullin, was born June 6, 1848, where the wagons of Brigham Young's Company were gathering on the Elkhorn River two days before setting out for the Salt Lake Valley. Willard, Martha, and baby arrived in Utah on September 20, 1848, where they built a "small dobie house" in the Salt Lake Sixth Ward. The following spring Willard Glover died of "consumption" at the age of 11 months. In September Martha had another child named Martha, who only lived eight months. Their next child, Brigham, was born on March 29, 1851, the first of Willard's five children who would survive to adulthood.

When Brigham McMullin was less than a month old, the first census in Utah Territory was counted. In addition to the newborn, there were three mystery children in the McMullin household: James, age eight, Thomas, age seven, both born in Illinois, and William, age four born in Iowa. They could not have been children of Mary, Willard's first wife, for James was conceived before Willard and Mary arrived in Illinois. Thomas was born about the time as Mary's Willard Richard Glover, and William was born close to little Mary's birth. Sarah Richards was old enough to have had children before she married Willard, but there is no evidence that she was ever married in Maine or Illinois, and before their marriage Willard called her in his autobiography by her maiden name. These must have been foster children, perhaps orphans. Other than their appearance in the census, nothing is currently known about them, and they are not mentioned in Willard's autobiography.

After living in Salt Lake City for about three years, Willard moved his family to Weber County. He wrote that he moved his "wife and child" to East Weber in the fall of 1851, which suggests that the mystery children were no longer with them. In September 1852, Ira Spaulding McMullin was born to Martha. In April 1853 Willard was called to the British mission and left in June, visiting his family in Maine for about two weeks on the way. He returned in the fall of 1855 with the John Hindley Company, accompanied by the family of his half-brother, Henry McMullin. Martha's last child, David, was born in East Weber on June 10, 1856.

Now we will return to the activities of Henry's family in Vinalhaven during Willard's absence.

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[242] The little girl died the following spring and Pendleton's wife died in September 1847. Pendleton remarried and moved with his new wife to Kanesville when Winter Quarters was abandoned before winter. He eventually immigrated to Parowan in 1852 where he spent the rest of his life.

[243] *FamilySearch* and *Ancestry* pedigrees give the marriage date of January 1, 1848, but according to temple records, that is when they were sealed. The marriage must have happened long before the sealing, for they had been living together for six months, and by then Martha was already four months pregnant with their first child. Without a temple, the only possibility of a sealing was to have it done by the Prophet himself.

Recall that Willard and Henry had married their wives just a week apart in April 1842 just before Willard and Mary set out for Nauvoo.

Henry and Mary's first child, Calvin Pendleton McMullin, was born in Vinalhaven on November 3, 1843, followed nearly four years later on July 15, 1847, by Albert Eals McMullin.

Wilford Woodruff returned to the Fox Islands in June of 1849 and visited the Pierce family. He wrote the following in his journal:

> A rainy morning... We walked four miles and stopped at Brother Josiah Pierce's and spent the night. I called upon his Father Thomas Pierce, 78 years old. Mother Peirce was also 78 years old this day. Both are members of the Church and strong in the faith…. I went with...Brother Pierce to the graveyard near Brother Brown's house…. (The following day he continued,) I went out fishing with Brothers Luce and Pierce. We fished in 30 fathoms of water. We caught 25 codfish, ...50 large haddocks, five hake, and got back to the house at 10 o'clock.... I preached to a house full at Brother Pierce's at 4 o'clock. I spoke for two hours and had the Spirit of the Lord upon me and spoke very plain to the people. There had been many baptized on this island…. Sixteen still profess to have a standing in the Church.

Henry McMullin remained in Maine until 1855 and was living in North Haven at the time of the 1850 census,[244] where he apparently made a good living as a shipbuilder, but he may have moved to the mainland a few years before moving to Utah Territory, since two of his children were born in Rockport, Maine in 1852 and 1854. It is not known how strong the Mormon branch in Vinalhaven was by then, but it would have been much smaller after his family's departure. It may be that Henry and his family were the last of the Mormons of Vinalhaven to immigrate to Utah Territory. They went west with four small sons, their oldest boy Calvin Pendleton McMullin having died in 1852 at the age of nine. Albert Eals[245] was eight, but he wasn't baptized until after arrival in Utah when he was almost nine. Probably most of the journey was by boat across the eastern canal system to the Ohio, Mississippi, and Missouri Rivers.[246]

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[244] The U.S. census in North Haven showed Henry McMullin as a carpenter worth $900 in real estate, living near to his older half-brother David age 66, a farmer. By this time Henry had three boys: Calvin age six, Albert, age three, and Alphonso, 6/12. His father-in-law, Josiah Pierce, was listed as fisherman. He was 56 and had real estate worth $1,000, well above his neighbors. His new wife was listed as Jane. Family trees have her as Jane Crockett. I can find no evidence for their marriage, but her birth is documented. His youngest sons Frost, Allsbury, and Edwin (ages 21,19, and 14) lived with him. They were also fishermen as were all of their neighbors.

[245] Albert's histories usually use his full name, although most people called him "Al." To avoid confusion with his son, Albert Orlando McMullin, whom his friends and family called "Bert," I will henceforth call Albert Eals "Albert" and Albert Orlando "Bert."

[246] The McMullin story has them going by land to the Missouri River. It seems more likely that they traveled by water. Wilford Woodruff traveled to Nauvoo by land in 1838, but when he returned to Nauvoo after his mission to England in 1841 he did most of his travel by rail or by steamboat (sometimes by canal). The only stretch that he traveled by land was to hire a wagon from Chicago to Nauvoo. When Willard McMullin traveled to Nauvoo in 1842 he traveled by steamboat to Boston, and his total travel time to Nauvoo was 22 days. He said he "landed" in Nauvoo, which suggests he took a steamboat up the Mississippi. The road distance from Rockford Maine to Nauvoo is 1,422 miles, which would have required a rate of 65 miles per day, much more than could be done by wagon.

The McMullins set out across the plains from Mormon Grove, Kansas with the Hindley Wagon Company on June 7, 1855. Most of the company had arrived via steamboat from Saint Louis, suffering from "the river complaint," diarrhea. Captain Hindley was a 35-year-old Englishman from American Fork, Utah, whose wife had borne him no children. He was a professional freighter, who crossed the plains 13 times in all. One of the female travelers characterized him as "a good captain if he did court one of the young women and afterwards married her." Willard McMullin was named captain of 10 in the first company of 50 wagons.

The journey was described by one traveler as "good and pleasant," although there was a cholera death in the first week of travel. The company was detained about three weeks at the Platte River due to suspicion of Indian trouble ahead. They traveled thereafter with a front and rear armed guard, and never met hostilities. John Parsons, the company's clerk reported on July 30th that "Brother Pearce (sic) strayed from the camp and got lost." They found him the next day at a trading post they had passed the day before. This was Henry's 59-year-old father-in-law Josiah, whose wife Jane McMullin had not come with him.[247]

Upon arrival in Salt Lake City on September 3, 1855, the McMullins followed instructions to turn their oxen into a big public grazing field, and the animals were never seen again. Willard had to bring teams down from his home in East Weber to move Henry's family to Ogden. One month after their arrival, Mary and Henry's baby Edwin died at age fifteen months, and their first daughter, Sarah Jane, was born.

Not much is known of Henry's next two years in Weber except that he served in the militia against Johnston's Army in the fall of 1857 in Echo Canyon, camping there about eight weeks until the federal troops settled at Fort Bridger, and returning about December 10th.[248] When Brigham Young ordered the Big Move, the McMullins responded on March 25, 1858. Henry, Mary, their children, and Josiah Pierce moved to Provo, and Willard moved his family to Payson.[249]

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[247] Jane is said (without source) to have died in 1856. She may have simply refused to come, although she had married Josiah a year before the Pierce family was baptized and was probably a Mormon. She was not only Henry's mother-in-law, (and Mary's stepmother) but also Henry's half-sister, a daughter of Archibald McMullin's first wife Sarah Robbins. Jane was 26 years older than Henry, who was 35.

[248] I wonder whether Henry's brother-in-law Edwin Pierce was also in the militia. He should have been, given his age. Since he doesn't show up in military rolls, perhaps he was absent from the state during that time. He wasn't in the 1860 census either. Edwin lived in Weber until 1858, then to Provo until 1861, and then back to Farmington where he remained. He married in Farmington in 1865.

[249] Willard McMullin was called to southern Utah in the fall of 1862, where he and his family settled in the town of Harrisburg for the rest of his life.

Chapter Nine – Heber

The first Mormons to explore the Provo Valley[250] were not the early settlers of Provo, but Robert and William Gardner and J. D. Parks,[251] who in September 1852 ascended the Weber River to its headwaters and then followed the upper Provo River drainage through the Provo Valley. There they noted several streams that would allow irrigation and discovered the hot water domes near Snake Creek. Descending Provo Canyon, they deemed the river valuable for floating timber to Utah Valley and amenable to a useful road. "Provo Canyon was the best canyon for a road that I have ever seen."[252]

Two and a half years later on April 1,1855 the Territorial Legislature of Utah named Aaron Johnson,[253] Thomas S. Williams,[254] Evan M. Greene,[255] and William M. Wall,

> For a term of 20 years with the exclusive right of making a good wagon road…from the mouth of Provo Canyon in Utah County to Kamas, Prairie, thence to continue north easterly on the most feasible route, till it intersects the main travelled road from the United States to Great Salt Lake City near Black's Fork in Green River County, Utah Territory (Green River County is now in Wyoming) and keep the same in good repair, with the privilege of taking toll thereon, at such specified rates as shall be established by the aforesaid county court.

The Utah County Court followed up in July by issuing a grant to William M. Wall to build the road. However, it didn't happen as soon as planned, and the canyon was next explored from the Salt Lake side by Charles N. Carroll,[256] Carroll's brother-in-law James Adams, and several others who were working in a sawmill and lumbering operation for Brigham Young, when they set out from the head of Big Cottonwood Canyon over the ridge to Snake Creek on a single day's hike.

Further exploration of the valley was delayed by the appearance of Johnston's Army in 1857, but as mentioned in Chapter Seven, several young Provo men with ties to Gibson County, Tennessee explored it and camped there all winter, trapping beaver.[257] On the old map of the fort two of them are mentioned, "William Cummings and Robert Parker were the first white men to spend a winter in Provo Valley."

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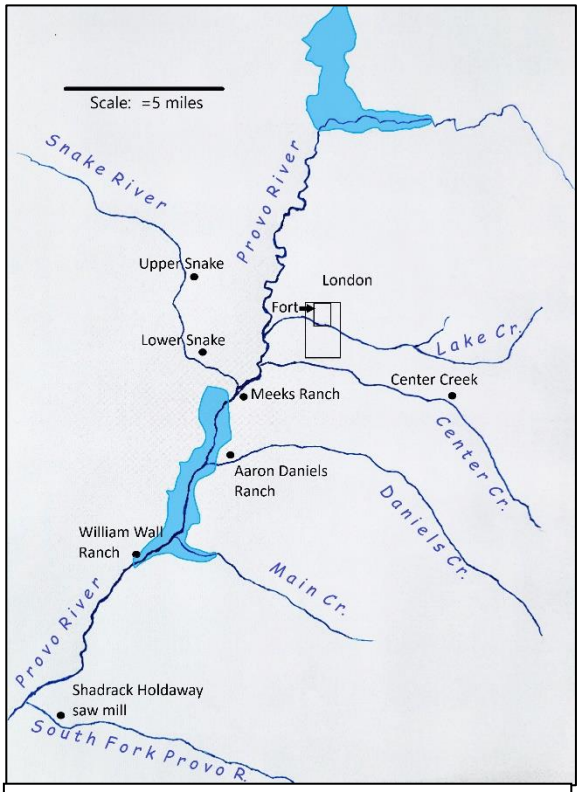
[250] This valley is now known as Heber Valley. Its original name came from the Provo River, which flows through it.
[251] I couldn't find Parks, but Robert and William Gardner were probably two sons of Archibald Gardner, the first miller in Millcreek and West Jordan. Robert is said to have spent a lot of time in the canyons.
[252] Leslie S. Raty masters' thesis, A History of Wasatch County 1859-1899, BYU 1954.
[253] Johnson headed the wagon company on which the Ross family came to Utah and was the first to settle Springville.
[254] Williams crossed the plains in the Aaron Johnson company with the Ross family.
[255] Greene was from Kirtland, an early member of the Church and a nephew to Brigham Young, his father having married Rhoda Young, the Prophet's sister. Evan Greene was a professional schoolteacher, who taught English grammar to Joseph Smith in Kirtland, served as the Prophet's secretary, and attended the School of the Prophets. Later he served as the first postmaster in Kanesville until immigrating to Utah in 1852, when he was sent directly to Provo to set up a school and seminary. He later served in the Territorial Legislature, probably during the very time the wagon road was commissioned.
[256] Carroll was a Canadian, who like the Gardner brothers, arrived in Utah in 1854. He moved to Provo in 1856. (*FamilySearch* KVPR-8F8).
[257] William James Mortimer, How Beautiful upon the Mountains, DUP 1963, p.5.

The families in the Church sponsored expedition in the spring of 1859 are generally honored as the founders of Heber City. However, the first residents arrived during the preceding year, and at least four families settled permanently at that time.

In the spring of 1858, several groups of cattlemen from Provo drove their stock through the canyon and established ranches at the south end of the Provo Valley while the canyon road was being built. Among these were William Wall and George W. Bean (who were discussed in Chapter Seven), Aaron Daniels, William Meeks, and a few others. In his autobiography, George W. Bean wrote that he and his father-in-law William Wall set up a ranch "in the lower part of Provo Valley, in the canyon." Daniels and Meeks settled further north. Aaron Daniels' ranch was near to where Charleston is now located, about a mile north of where Daniels Creek enters the Provo River.[258] William Meeks established a ranch not far from Daniels about two miles southwest of where Heber is now located.[259] James Adams and his brother-in-law, Charles Carroll, who had earlier discovered the valley from the Salt Lake side, built cabins at Center Creek sometime between April and July 1858. (For perspective, the modern Deer Creek and Jordanelle Reservoirs are shown in blue on the map.)



Provo Valley settlements in 1858.
(The fort was added in 1859.)

Others who used the valley that summer during the construction of the canyon road were members of the Cummings and Ross families from Gibson County, Tennessee. William Cummings, Joseph Parker, and Andrew Ross drove their livestock into the valley. When they arrived, they were amazed to find "old man Meeks" (old at age 43!) already living in Meeks Bottoms. Bob Parker[260] and Babe (Isaac or Ike) Cummings claimed to be the first to "stick a plow" into

[258] Aaron Daniels was baptized into the Mormon Church in 1830 in New York at the age of eight, his parents being very early converts. He settled in Fort Utah in 1852 and killed an Indian during the Walker War. He later spent several years on a mission to settle Fort Supply about 12 miles from Fort Bridger. He was one of those who set fire to Fort Supply and Fort Bridger in November 1857 in anticipation of the arrival of Johnston's army. Daniels wrote that he trapped and explored the Provo Valley during the following winter. In the spring he claimed to have discovered a Spanish gold mine near the summit of Daniels Canyon, having been taken there blindfolded by a group of Indian friends. In April 1859 he returned to Fort Supply, and eventually he settled in Wanship.

[259] William Meeks and his wife Elizabeth, both 32, were not part of the Gibson County families, but they were living in Tennessee Hollow at the time of the special census of 1851 and were probably members of the Shirtses Branch. Meeks had later settled in Springville and then in Salt Creek (Nephi), where he was a U.S. Deputy Marshall. In 1856 he was called to colonize Fort Supply until Johnston's army came through, and after that moved to Provo.

[260] Robert Pollock Parker's brother Joseph Parker later married Mary Elizabeth Ross. He was 22 years old and still single, living in Provo.

the soil of Provo Valley.[261] While plowing, they found an old piece of chain under the sage, buried in the ground.[262] From there they rode up to the spot where the official expedition would settle a year later and give it the name of "London." Parker and Cummings found that no plowing had been done, but later wrote that "old man Woods over at Midway plowed the next morning." With an eye toward keeping their cattle in the valley during the winter, all of these men harvested a large crop of meadow hay.

Isaac Cummings' father John and his 12-year-old brother, John Jr., brought their sheep up from Utah Valley. They had 300 head of their own and took on more sheep to herd until they had 1,800 head. John Sr. worked at the plow with the older boys and left John Jr. to herd the sheep.

While construction on the canyon road continued, J.C. Snow, the Utah County surveyor, laid out a section into 25 acre tracts just north of present Heber City in July 1858. One night they awoke to find ice had formed in their tin cups, a fact which dampened the spirits of the Provo people when the surveyors returned to tell the story,[263] but it did not prevent the filing of over 100 claims that summer near the center of the valley.

By September 1858 the canyon road had been completed at a cost of $19,000, which was paid for in "Deseret Currency," scrip that could be used as cash at the co-op store in Salt Lake City. On October 13, a substantial bridge was completed over the Provo River at the mouth of the canyon by Henry Grow, who later won fame for his construction of the Salt Lake Tabernacle, and army freight teams from Fort Leavenworth passed through from the east to Camp Floyd.[264] Once the bridge was in, the canyon became the preferred route in both directions for the federal army's teamsters to haul freight. George W. Bean wrote,[265]

> Through this way came many ox trains loaded with government supplies belonging to Russell, Majors, and Waddell, celebrated freighters for "Uncle Sam." At the ranch we cared for the lame cattle by direction of Dr. Hobbs, and thus made some money. We had plenty of hay and sheds for stock.

John Crook

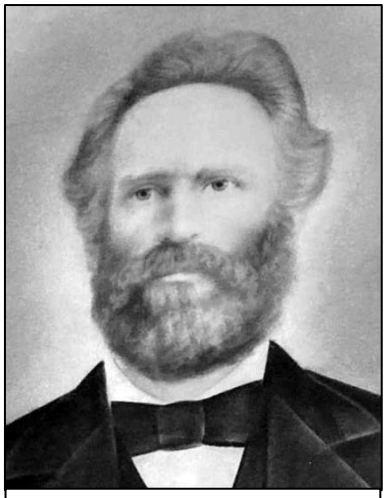
John Crook added that as they passed by, the teamsters would swap old wagon covers for vegetables and grain. These fabrics were remade for wearing apparel. People were also short of shoes, so they would walk barefoot to the farm with their shoes under their arms to make them last longer, since they were essential for walking over the stubble. That same month John Crook got a job as the lead chain man for an additional survey to lay out a mile and a half square west and south of (present) Heber City, receiving $10 dollars and 25 acres of land for his efforts. William Wall noted on November 12th

[261] *Wasatch Wave* April 13, 1906.
[262] Finding an "old" chain gives credence to Wallace Stegner's claim that ranchers first explored the valley in 1855.
[263] John Crook, History of Wasatch County, *Wasatch Wave* March 23, 1889, p. 2.
[264] John Crook's diary, *FamilySearch* KWNV-CQW.
[265] George Washington Bean Book part 1, Memories in FamilySearch KWNV-721.

that about 100 teamsters had started from Camp Floyd for the States via the new Provo Canyon road, saving about 60 miles.

A group of men from Provo wintered in the valley, but the Cummings boys and Andrew Ross took most of the livestock back to Provo in the fall. They did winter a small bunch of sheep on Daniel's Creek where the county road now crosses old Daniels Creek between Heber and Charleston. They came back to their land in the spring.

Eleven families from Provo and other settlements in Utah County prepared during that winter to move as a group into the Provo Valley in the spring of 1859. An organization was created with William Meeks as Presiding Elder to promote the idea and to secure a safe settlement, since he had previously built a ranch house in the valley, but he did not accompany them.[266] Several meetings were held that winter in Provo to organize the official spring move. James C. Snow, the surveyor, returned to the valley with another party of men and surveyed another set of 20 acre lots, which were all immediately claimed.



William Meeks

At least two Provo families got the jump on the official party that spring.

One was Thomas Ross, who moved his young second wife Margaret and their six months old daughter Polly Ann onto a ranch,[267] at Center Creek. They lived in a small one room house with a dirt roof and floor.

Margaret's granddaughter wrote,

> Thomas spent a good share of his time in Provo, leaving Margaret to care much for herself and children…. On one occasion Thomas was taking his wife and baby to Provo for a visit with her folks. The road down Provo Canyon was almost impassable due to the spring thaw. At the crossing of the Provo River, it was noted that the river was quite high with flood water. (Although there was a bridge near the mouth of the canyon, the new road required fording the river further up the canyon, requiring the horses to swim. People would guide the wagons across the river with long ropes.) Thomas had a good team and knew how to handle them well, so he drove into the turbulent stream with little fear. His calculations were wrong. The horses were forced to swim, and the floating wagon was soon filled with water. Thomas did some quick thinking. He grabbed the baby, which was wrapped tightly in a blanket and threw her to safety on the bank. Then, assisting his wife, they swam to shore and were saved. The horses also made their way to the bank farther down the river with the empty wagon.[268]

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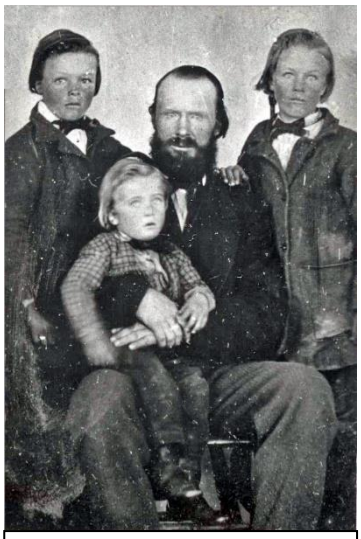
[266] William Meeks was later appointed the first Presiding Elder in the Provo Valley.

[267] Ella Parker Ogden, Thomas Ross and Rachel Smith, p. 12, and Suzane N. Scruggs, DUP history, *FamilySearch* memories for Thomas MB1L-SMT.

[268] The story does not give the date, but the next child, George Lewis Ross, was not born until April 30, 1862. Since the story does not work for him, the baby was Polly Ann, and it must have happened in the spring of 1859.

Another family known to move that spring ahead of the official group belonged to John Wesley Witt. His wife, Lovina Bigelow and her parents[269] had known Thomas and Rachel Ross since their Nauvoo days, having been members of the Camp Creek Branch in Hancock County, so it was no accident that they initially settled next to Margaret Ross in Center Creek where James Adams and his brother-in-law, Charles Carroll, had built cabins the previous summer. Like Margaret Ross, the Witts with their family of five small children and Lovina's 17-year-old brother Dan Bigelow arrived in Provo Valley ahead of the official party, and they also capsized their wagon with an infant on board while crossing the Provo River, losing most of their supplies. They arrived at their destination on April 29th and moved into a rude dugout.[270]



John Wesley Witt and sons

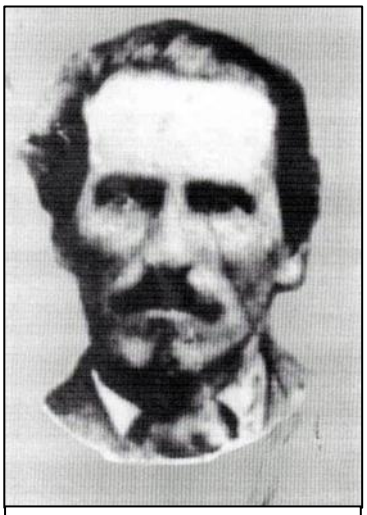
On the last day of April 1859, just a day after the Witt family arrived in the Provo River Valley, the official colonizing group crossed the new bridge over the Provo River. Seven of them were members of the Giles family or in-laws, all immigrants from England.[271] They camped the first night at a snowslide in

[269] Her father was Nahum Bigelow. Two of his daughters married Brigham Young at Winter Quarters on the same day.

[270] John W. Witt identified himself as a stone mason in the 1860 census, apparently living within the fort and no longer at Center Creek. His parents were among the first members of the Church, and John had lived through its entire history. When the Mormons left Nauvoo he worked four years on riverboats before coming to Utah in 1850, an early Provo resident. He is credited with having built the first house in the London Fort of cottonwood logs and was one of the 19 families who spent the first winter there. He served as probate judge after Wasatch county was organized in 1862 and as a commander in the militia.

[271] Thomas Rasband had come to Provo directly from his wagon train in 1856 and lived in his wagon box for a time before marrying into the family of William Giles, who had lived in Provo since arriving from England in 1856 and later joined his children in the Provo Valley. John Crook had also arrived in 1856 and married a Giles girl. The previous summer he had helped to survey the valley. Many of the details of this story were gleaned from his impressive diary. Charles N. Carroll, a Canadian who had lost his wife and three of their four children on the way to Zion moved to Provo in 1856 and married into the Giles family with his nine-year-old son. He and his brother-in-law James Adams had hiked through the valley from Big Cottonwood Canyon three years earlier. Accompanying his brothers-in-law was William Giles, Jr., a 16 year old, who later married John Carlisle's daughter Christina. There were three Carlisle brothers in the group, who had immigrated from Nottingham, England in 1852 and settled in Spanish Fork. John, who was 35, was the oldest of the three. He returned home alone during that first summer and was kicked in the chest by his thrashing horse when they were swamped by the current while crossing the Provo River. Luckily he was rescued and soon managed to bring his family to Provo Valley, but died there September 16 of his chest injury, the first white man to be buried in the Provo Valley. Both of his brothers, James and John, had married Giles girls in 1856 and 1857. After John died, George and James moved their parents to the Provo Valley the next spring. John Jordan, who had lost two wives in Illinois and Iowa and married a third wife in 1851 in Pottawattamie, was living in Springville after having first settled in Manti. At 47 he was the oldest of the group and had fought in the Walker War. Henry Chatwin was 38 years old. After his wife died in Millcreek leaving a five-year-old daughter, he moved to Provo around 1856. He became the first school teacher in the Provo Valley. Jesse Bond, who had immigrated as a 23 year old, was now 27 and still single, living in Provo. Shortly after the move to the Provo Valley he was assigned to drive an ox team for immigrants crossing the plains, where he met a girl whom he married two years later and brought to Heber. I couldn't find any information on William Carpenter. He did not appear in the Provo Valley U.S. census the following year.

Provo Canyon near what is now called Upper Falls about a mile below South Park. The next morning, they had to dismantle their wagons and carry them by hand for a quarter mile over the slide.



William Wall

On the first of May the group reached William Wall's ranch at the top of the canyon where they stayed the night. The next morning, they again crossed the Provo River and traveled about two miles to Daniels' ranch where they crossed the creek on the ice and followed cow trails into the valley, skirting heavy drifts of snow. About a mile further they reached Meek's ranch and had breakfast. This was at what is now called Meeks Bottoms, where Snake Creek joins the Provo River. They had a hard time crossing Center Creek and Lake Creek due to large drifts in the willows along the banks, which cost them a few hours before arriving at the future townsite north of present Heber City near what is now called Spring Creek. There they found William Davidson[272] James Davis,[273] and Robert Broadhead[274] plowing. The three men had been there for three days, and each of them had plowed about an acre. They had come from Nephi.

The official Provo group traveled a bit north of the present site of Heber and staked out a settlement which they named London, since they were all from England.[275] They chose 40 acre lots and began removing the sagebrush.

On May 31st William Meeks arrived from Provo with Jesse Fuller, the Deputy Surveyor of Utah County, and began the survey of the London townsite, delineating the blocks west of Main Street. Fuller laid out the townsite and the fort, 80 rods square. The east side was laid out later that year.

That summer and fall, nearly every freight train supplying Camp Floyd took the new road up the canyon and passed through the Provo Valley. Tolls were charged of $1 per cord of wood, rock, or coal, 50 cents for light wagons and carriages, and 10 cents per person, horse, or mule. In his autobiography George W. Bean wrote: "Through this way came many ox trains loaded with Government supplies belonging to…freighters for 'Uncle Sam.' At the ranch we cared for the lame cattle…and this made some money. We had plenty of hay and sheds for stock."

According to John Crook, Brigham Young visited the new settlement in August and took dinner at Center Creek, calling it "Thief Creek." The odometer on his carriage measured 26 miles from Provo to Center Creek and 18 miles to Kimball's Ranch at the top of Parley's Canyon.[276]

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[272] Davidson had immigrated to Utah in 1848, lost four of his first five children in the crossing, and lost his wife in 1856 in Cedar City before he settled in Provo. His wife and four children ages 1-10 were with him, the first family in the valley.

[273] James Bailey Davis was a 22-year-old from Wiltshire, England, who immigrated in 1855, married in Bountiful, and moved to Provo from Davis County after 1857. He later moved to Panaca in 1869.

[274] Robert Broadhead was 23 years old. He had been married in Box Elder two years earlier, but his wife and son died. His father William had gone to Nephi in "the move" and was farming there. Robert came up from Nephi with Davis.

[275] The spring where they camped in dugouts and teepees is still called London.

[276] *Wasatch Wave*, March 18, 1890.

After planting, many of the men returned to Provo, but seventeen families remained in the fort for the winter. There were no Rosses or McMullins listed in that group. In fact, according to Albert McMullin's autobiography, his family had moved in the other direction, returning from the sawmill at South Fork to Provo in 1858. They didn't move to the Provo Valley until 1860. Crook mentioned that Darwin M. Walton, William Cummings, Robert Parker and others raised quite a lot of grain on Center Creek. That fall the new settlers discovered that Lake Creek in its natural channel had failed to reach the London city limits, so the next morning the men all turned out with teams, plows, and shovels and went about one mile east to Thorn Spring. They plowed a furrow to intersect two springs south of the spring, and Lake Creek was dammed to turn the water down the dry bed to intersect the two spring branches, bringing them into one stream. In November several more families arrived and settled within the fort lines. William B. Sessions and Robert Broadhead plowed a ditch to convey water for culinary purposes, probably from Spring Creek.

The remaining families were cut off from Utah Valley all winter except for a group of young people from Provo, who visited by sleigh over the holidays. During the winter, William Meeks, William Cummings (who later married Meeks' daughter Mary Ann), Joseph Parker, and Andrew Ross built a sawmill in Center Creek Canyon financed by Henry McMullin, James Adams, and William Wall. This was the earliest sawmill in the valley, and it began sawing lumber in the fall of 1860.

In March 1860 General Johnston left Camp Floyd.[277] Most of the federal troops were withdrawn in May, but some remained for another 14 months. A large number of surplus army wagons were bought cheaply in the Provo Valley.

That month Peter Shirts of the Shirtses Branch in Tennessee Grove, Iowa wrote to Brigham Young from Provo asking permission to build a sawmill with an old fashioned "up and down" blade in the Provo Valley.

In the spring William Madison Wall was appointed presiding elder for the Provo Valley.

John Crook wrote that many more families moved from Provo as soon as the spring weather allowed. One of these was probably Thomas Ross' first wife Rachel and her children. Abner Gay Ross, a grandson wrote, "In the spring of 1860 the family left Provo and moved to Heber City (then called London), Utah, and later settled at Center Creek."[278] During the considerable early activity of Thomas' oldest son James Andrew in the valley, places had likely been prepared for his family, his aging grandparents James A. Smith and Maggie (Margaret Love), and his uncle Richard Smith, enabling all of them to get in crops for the next winter.

Rachel Smith Ross

By summer there were over two hundred people in the Provo Valley. Even before everyone had completed houses for themselves, the settlers built a log meeting structure with a dirt

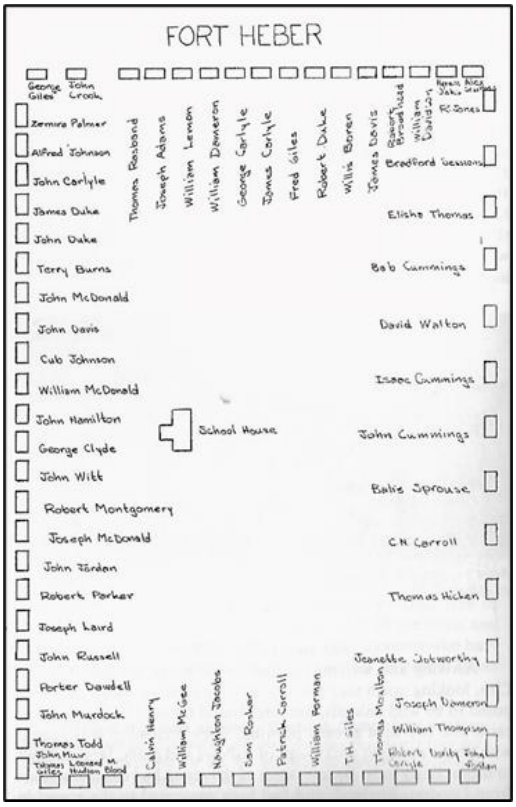
[277] He was later killed, fighting for the Confederacy in the Civil War, which began the following year on April 12, 1861, with the firing on Fort Sumpter in Charleston Harbor.

[278] Robert and May Carter's Biography, *FamilySearch* memories Leah Lucinda Ross KWJZ-JQG.

floor[279] in two weeks' time to celebrate Pioneer Day on July 24th. It was a log structure of 40 x 20 feet with a fireplace at each end and a stage ten feet wide and twelve feet long on the west side. Roads were built that summer into each of the valley's canyons to supply timber for houses and fence posts.

Four families had spent the winter along Snake Creek, which joined the Provo River from the west side of the valley, and many more joined them that summer including Peter Shirts[280] and Ephraim Hanks[281] at Mound City, also known as Upper Snake Creek settlement, two miles above the present site of Midway.

About 40 families moved to the fort at London in 1860. One of them was the John Murdoch family, whose daughter Janett later married Henry Lufkin McMullin. Janett was four years old when they moved, but she vividly remembered the trip up the canyon, especially the part when they had to ford the river. By fall, the lots in the fort were all filled up, with four rods allotted to each family. Sometimes two families built in one space.



Since everyone can't be counted on the same day, officials of the 1860 U.S. census were instructed to count people on the basis of their location and age as of a single day, June 1, 1860. However, on each page of the census for Provo Valley, Assistant Marshal Jesse Bishop[282] wrote October 4, 1860, as the date of his enumeration. Since there was massive immigration to the valley between these dates, it is hard to reconcile the census with the existing map of the fort, especially since it is not clear exactly when the map was drawn. Of the 66 families named on the map, I could find only 40 in the census who were living there, probably because many people began living in the fort in dugouts[283] while they built permanent houses outside of it.

It appears that Jesse Bishop, the census taker who arrived via Provo Canyon, began by counting families on the west side of the fort. The next page consists primarily of the seven households of the Ross and Smith extended families, who lived near each other outside the fort, where Richard Smith and his wife,

[279] Lumber for flooring or shingles did not become available until 1863. (William James Mortimer, How Beautiful upon the Mountains, DUP 1963, p. 106.)

[280] According to Crook, Shirts began building the mill he had requested in the summer of 1860 at the mouth of Snake Creek Canyon.

[281] This is the Ephraim Hanks who became a folk hero to Latter-day Saints. Hanks left his home near Kirtland, Ohio when he was sixteen to work on the Erie Canal and later for the U. S. Navy before joining the Church. He served in the Mormon Battalion, the Battle of Fort Utah in Provo, and the pony express. But he is most famous for his heroism in rescuing Martin Hancock Company in 1856.

[282] Bishop had been appointed temporary agent at the Indian farm at Spanish Fork the previous August. *Deseret News* August 29, 1860, page 8.

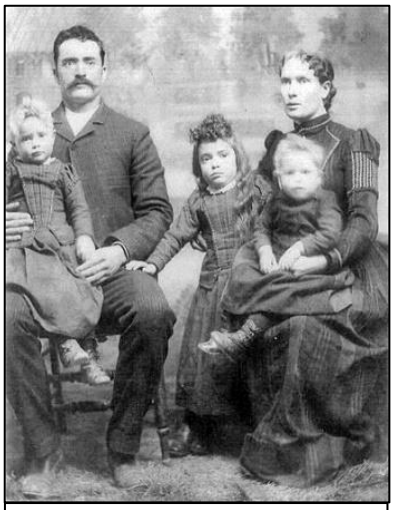
[283] John Crook, History of Wasatch County, *Wasatch Wave* April 20, 1889, p. 1.

Diana,[284] both in their upper 60's appear first, next to two unoccupied lots. The next house belonged to Benjamin Roberts with his wife Betsy and three small boys.[285]

Richard and Dianna Smith

The next household was Melvin Ross with his wife Rebecca, who was Richard Smith's oldest child. Melvin declared more value in real estate and personal estate than almost anyone else. The averages of the nearest 30 households were $218 in real estate and $293 in personal property--he was at $275 and $2,000. Seven of their children were living with them. Next door lived Melvin's son James A. Ross, a "herdsman," with his wife Susan and three-year-old daughter Mary J.[286]

The next house belonged to Ephraim Smith, another of Richard's sons, and his 23-year-old wife Nancy with three children under five. Ephraim's occupation was denoted as "F," likely a farmer. He was running the first and only tannery in London. His "hopper mill" for grinding the tree bark needed for tanning was sometimes being used to grind flour, since there was no grist mill in the valley for a time.



George W. Ross and family 1872

Next came Thomas and Rachael Ross with their five unmarried children. Mary Elizabeth was 14, Nancy Jane was 11, Thomas 10, Robert seven, and John four. Thomas' second wife Margaret and her young child were not living with them. By this time, Margaret had been living at Center Creek for nearly two years but did not appear in the 1860 census.

Rachael's parents, James A. and Margaret Smith, were living next door with three young men in their 20's: Their grandson Robert Adam Smith, the 23-year-old son of Thomas' sister Mary Ann Ross and Thomas Washington Smith, Thomas Ross' half-brother, George Washington Ross,[287] and their grandson James Andrew Ross, the oldest son of Thomas and Rachel with one of his wives--Sarah Ann.

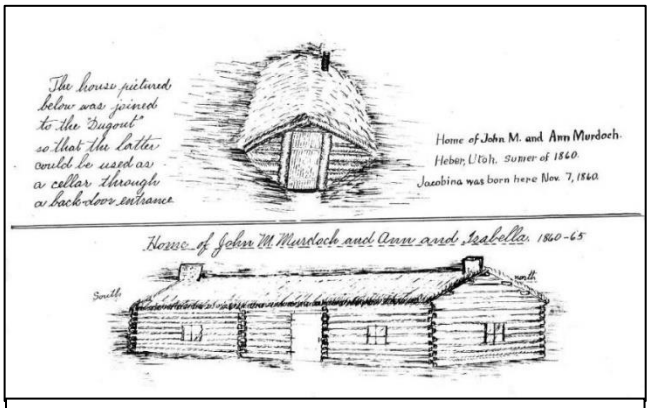
In the in the next house lived Phillip Smith, another of Richard's sons, with his wife Eliza and three children under eight.[288]

On the map of the fort, Isaac and John Cummings are shown living next to each other near Charles Carroll. However, in the census, Isaac and Sarah Cummings (without children—they had been married

[284] In his biography in *FamilySearch* Richard Smith is said to have lived in "a compound of log cabins."
[285] Roberts was a Mormon Battalion volunteer, who had recently served a mission at Fort Supply and lived briefly in Provo, but I could find no other connection to the Smith and Ross families.
[286] This may be a mistake of the census taker. Their three-year-old daughter's name was Sarah Jane, not Mary J. And Susan Matilda, who was supposedly born seven months before the census, is missing from the census.
[287] George was the last of Andrew Ross' children to come to Utah. Two of his half-sisters were wives of Thomas Washington Smith, who had been called to the Cotton Mission in Washington County and he would soon join them.
[288] Phillip later became the county sheriff. In 1887 he built a cabin on his ranch in Midway.

only six months earlier at the fort in London) are listed a few houses beyond Phillip Smith, probably outside the fort.[289]

Isaac's father John Cummings appears several pages later near Charles Carroll, Thomas Hicken, and John Murdoch in the fort.[290] Andrew Ross' other young wife, Melinda Cummings, was living with her parents and their unmarried children, a sign that the couple had already separated.[291] A later page listed two more of the Tennessee families, Willis Boren and Flora Boren.[292]


The house pictured below was joined to the "Dugout" so that the latter could be used as a cellar through a back door entrance
Home of John M. and Ann Murdoch. Heber, Utah. Summer of 1860. Jacobina was born here Nov. 7, 1860
House of John M Murdoch and Ann and Isabella. 1860-65
Smith
wall
John Murdoch's dugout in the fort

The last page was recorded on the census taker's way home. It includes William Wall at his ranch at the south end of the valley near the top of Provo Canyon followed by the Henry McMullin family, who were living at Shadrack Holdaway's sawmill on the South Fork of Provo Canyon.[293] Most of families on this page can be linked to Provo and were probably working at the sawmill with Henry McMullin, whose occupation was given as "sawyer." Just before Henry is Peter Van Orden, a "lumberer." After Henry is Joseph Dudley, who was said in his biography to have "lived in Provo, worked in Provo Canyon getting out timbers." In the McMullins' household was Henry's father-in-law, Josiah Pierce, age 67.[294]

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[289] In his biography, Ike Cummings is said to have built his house on the corner of Third North and First West and lived there for the birth of all ten of his 12 children, which is supported by the census, but not the fort map. This suggests that the map was drawn before the census.

[290] John Cummings' first house was a "lean-to" on the west side of what is now Main Street between 3rd and 4th North. (Nancy Elizabeth Cummings McDonald's biography in *FamilySearch*)

[291] Andrew Ross' history suggests that the parting was mutual when it was discovered that Andrew was not able to father children. She would marry Jacob Baum in Heber three years later. They had a family and spent the rest of their lives in Heber.

[292] Flora was the newly wed second wife of Coleman Boren. While living in the fort Willis and Sophia Boren had a child they named Willis Boren, Jr. on June 22, 1860. The couple separated soon afterward, and she took the baby, who later ended up living in Joseph, Utah.

[293] It is not clear how much longer Henry ran the mill at South Fork. By 1874, Holdaway was running it personally, but I have no evidence that it ran after that time. The mill in South Fork and the surrounding property was inherited by his daughter Mary Elizabeth and her husband Charles Conrad, who with his son developed a large ranching operation that remained in the family until at least 1997. An informative description of the former location of the mill written by his 2nd great grandson Paul W. Conrad can be found among Shadrack Holdaway's memories in *FamilySearch* KWV3-KCL.

[294] Henry's brother-in-law, Edwin Pierce, was not in the census, neither in Weber nor Provo. Edwin had gone to San Bernardino in 1854 but was called back during the Utah War. In 1860 he was working in Farmington for a farmer named Arvin M. Stoddard, a Canadian who had lived in Missouri and Nauvoo and came to Utah in 1847 with Charles C. Rich. In Farmington Edwin met his future wife, Ellen Matilda Wood, who had been working as a housekeeper for Arvin Stoddard's wife Caroline. Five years after an off and on courtship they married and lived in a one-room log cabin of 10 x 12 feet. Later after having two children, they attached a second 16 x 16 foot cabin and eventually had five more. Edwin died in Farmington at the age of 64.

On November 15, 1860, Joseph Stacy Murdock,[295] who was living in American Fork, was ordained to become the Bishop of the Provo Valley.

Center Creek was an important community in its own right, even at that early time. On Christmas Day, the first two weddings in the Provo Valley were performed there. One of the couples was Harvey Meeks and "Miss Dougal,"[296] who were married at Center Creek by Silas Smith.[297]

The second winter in Provo Valley was difficult. Although good crops had been raised the prior season, there was no mill to grind wheat except with hand driven coffee mills or at the tannery. Provo Canyon was closed for most of the winter and the settlers in the valley were reported in the Provo newspaper to be starving. On March 4, Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated the 16th President of the United States.

In early 1861 Thomas Ross built a second cabin in Center Creek into which he moved Rachel and her unmarried children.[298] Nearly all the people living there were stock raisers or farmers. They irrigated their land by diverting water from Center Creek which arises in the mountains southeast of Provo Valley. Among the original settlers were Joseph Faucett, Joseph Cluff, James Adams,[299] and Jackson Smith. Henry McMullin and his sons ran the new sawmill in Center Creek Canyon for "some time" before branching out into the building trade, making houses, boats, and coffins.

The Church authorities called John Harvey to move from Provo to Center Creek and establish a branch there, where he became its first Presiding Elder.[300] His wife Ann had charge of "an excellent choir." By then there were twenty families in Center Creek, and the new branch included scattered settlers living along Daniels Creek and along Lake Creek, where another community emerged the same year two miles to the north. Members also

Harvey home in Center Creek

[295] Murdock was an early member of the Mormon Church, who first entered the Salt Lake Valley only two months after the Vanguard Party and was an especially useful man to Brigham Young. He was called to set up a ferry at Green River to accommodate the pioneers arriving in 1849 and later to establish the Carson Valley Mission. He was the third person to sign up with the minutemen, the Utah militia mustered to quell Indian uprisings. He fought at Battle Creek and in the 1850 war at Fort Provo, when he adopted two Indian orphans from among the refugees captured at Provo Canyon for his barren first wife to raise. Murdock was put in charge of Brigham Young's cattle herd along with my paternal relatives Lyman Wight and his in-laws the Bateman boys at Wight's Fort southwest of Salt Lake City and then settled in American Fork at the time of "The Move" with his four wives.

[296] This was Sarah Catherine Dowdle. All four of their parents had lived in Shirtses Branch and neighboring Buoyo in Pottawattamie County, Iowa. (William James Mortimer, How Beautiful upon the Mountains, DUP 1963, p. 14.)

[297] Harvey Meeks shows up twice in the 1860 census: once with his father's family (William Meeks) and again with the Dowdle family including Sarah.

[298] DUP History of Thomas Ross, Suzanne N. Scruggs.

[299] Adams was a sawyer and was part owner of the sawmill built in Center Creek by Henry McMullin in 1860 with William Wall as a partner, (How Beautiful, page 1049) and he kept another house in Provo for his older wife, who had lived with him in Center Creek until he married his 14-year-old second wife Elizabeth "Lib" Smith, daughter of Jackson Smith, who was four months pregnant at the time of their marriage. The two wives (understandably) did not get along. Around 1863 he got "gold fever" and abandoned both of them.

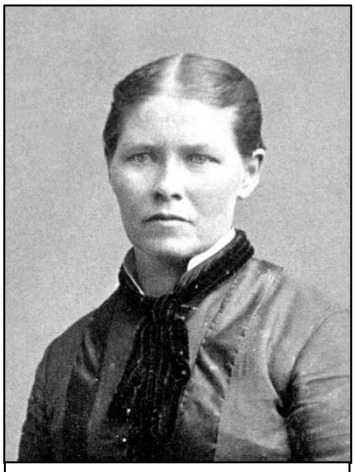
[300] John Harvey KWJC-L9V was a Canadian who had served in William Wall's militia and spent two years at Fort Supply prior to this assignment and moved to Provo during The Move.

came from Little Warm Valley, later called Round Valley, where William Wall ran his sheep.[301]

Sometime in 1861, Sidney Rigdon Carter, who had married two daughters of Thomas Ross, began spending much of his time in Provo Valley farming and raising cattle with his brothers-in-law Andrew Ross and Joseph Parker, and with Isaac Cummings, but both of Sidney's wives stayed in Provo for several more years.

In May the new bishop, Joseph Stacy Murdock, moved his family to the Provo Valley from American Fork. Because the road through Provo Canyon had been washed out, he was forced to go north through Emigration Canyon, over Parley's Park, and down Snake Creek Canyon, where he first settled his family near Ephraim Hanks and Peter Shirts on Upper Snake Creek. Among his first tasks as bishop were to rebuild the Provo Canyon Road and build a bridge over the Provo River at Hailstone (near to where the Jordanelle Dam is now.)

On June 30, 1861, Mary Elizabeth Ross, Thomas and Rachel's 16-year-old daughter, married Joseph F. Parker, age 20.[302] Joseph had joined his brother Robert on a land claim in London in 1860 or 1861 before marrying Mary Elizabeth at her parents' home in Center Creek, where she stayed while he completed the house. Their first child Hulda was born in Center Creek on May 17, 1862.



Mary Elizabeth Ross

By July, the last of the soldiers in Camp Floyd had been withdrawn. Surplus government property from the closure of the army camp was a boon to the Mormons; in total about $4,000,000 worth of goods sold for $100,000. Crook wrote that many people began moving out of the London Fort that summer to build on their city lots, the fort being by this time much too small to support all the people moving into the Provo Valley.

James A. Smith received a patriarchal blessing in Provo Valley on September 2, 1861, given by John Young, one of the first patriarchs of the Church and an older brother to Brigham Young. James' orphaned step-granddaughter, Mary Susan Stephens, also received her patriarchal blessing at the age of ten.[303]

[301] Round Valley was renamed Wallsburg around 1864, when William Wall moved there to live.

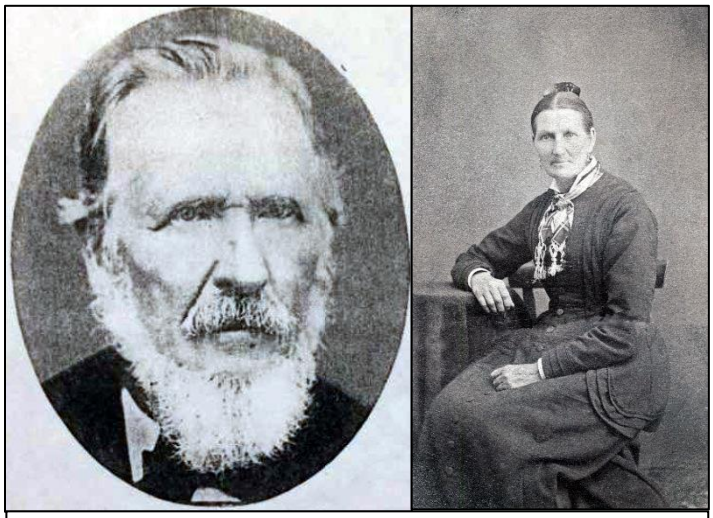
[302] Joe was nearly killed as a boy when he was dragged down Academy Street in Provo, tangled in a rope attached to a runaway mare. At age sixteen he was assigned to guard Echo Canyon against the army. He later bought a wagon and a set of harnesses from the soldiers leaving Camp Floyd during the Civil War exit. Joseph's brother Robert and William ("Liam") Cummings had been the first two men winter in the Provo Valley.

[303] Her parents had died six weeks apart in May and June 1855 in the Shirtses branch when she was four after which she and six siblings were taken in by various family members in Utah. Margaret Smith was Mary Susan's grandmother. Mary Susan and her younger brother Joseph were later adopted by Thomas Washington Smith and Susan Reynolds, her deceased father's sister.

According to Albert McMullin, his family moved up the canyon from South Fork to the Provo Valley in the fall of 1861. His father Henry bought 120 acres, where they harvested a "nice stack of meadow hay that first fall" with hand scythes and gathered it with rakes that his 66-year-old grandfather Josiah Pierce made by hand. Albert's son Bert later wrote that Henry's farm was at Daniels Creek near where the creek entered the Provo River. But Henry later homesteaded 160 acres at Meeks Bottoms on the north end of Charleston and about a mile north of Daniels Creek where Snake Creek enters the river from the west. It is not clear to me whether Henry had two separate farms, or the 120 acres that Henry initially bought lay within the later homestead claim, part of which is now under Deer Creek Reservoir.

Source: U.S. General Land Office Records. Homestead granted June 30, 1876

The men of the McMullin family commuted to the farm from town, a distance of about two miles, since they lived initially in the fort. Maybell McMullin Moulton, Henry Lufkin's daughter, wrote of the McMullins: "They moved into the fort as neighbors to the Murdoch family."[304] Albert was 14, Alphonzo (often called "Fonz") was nearly 12, Henry was nine, Sarah Jane was five, and Mary Susan was three.



Henry and Mary Pierce McMullin

Henry built their first home on the southeast corner of First North and Main Street. The Murdochs wrote that their children and the McMullins grew up almost as one big family, for they lived very close to each other. They felt that the McMullins were financially better off than the majority of the pioneers of that time, "for they came from their home in the state of Maine in an independent company." They may have been well off, but the John Hindley Company was a Church train, not independent. It was not long before the McMullin boys had erected a big swing, and this home became a gathering place for the young people.

[304] This was John Murdoch, not Bishop Joseph Stacy Murdock, who was not related.

The Murdochs initially lived in a dugout in the fort, but they built a two room cabin before a year was over, probably south of the fort.

Henry McMullin and his son Albert worked as teamsters, hauling logs to the sawmill in Center Creek Canyon and hauling milled boards from Center Creek to London, where Henry built houses and barns in the manner of the ships he had built at Vinalhaven using mortice and wooden pegs instead of nails. Henry built most of the barns in the valley in the early days and all of the coffins, many of them without charge, out of lumber produced in the Center Creek sawmill.[305] Mary would buy whatever materials were available and then carefully trim and fasten them to the interior of the coffins. In those days cloth was hard to get, much of it obtained by trading wheat for surplus wagon covers from the solders passing through.

The overland telegraph line was completed to Great Salt Lake City on September 18, 1861. On the 24th Brigham Young sent the first telegram to San Francisco.

The peripatetic Peter Shirts did not stay in the Provo Valley much longer, but he was still in Mound City, Upper Snake Creek,[306] when his name appeared on the muster roll on September 19th for Captain Phillip Smith's[307] brand new militia, which was organized by Bishops Duke and Pace from Provo. Also on the roll were several former friends from the Shirtses Branch and other family members of the Gibson County group including Willis Boren, Melvin Ross, Richard Smith, John Cummings, Joseph Parker, Isaac[308] Cummings, William Cummings, Robert Smith, James Ross,[309] and Shirts' son-in-law, an Irishman named William McDonald.[310] Peter Shirts operated the "up and down" sawmill for only a few years and then sold it in 1864 to Henry Coleman Sr.[311]

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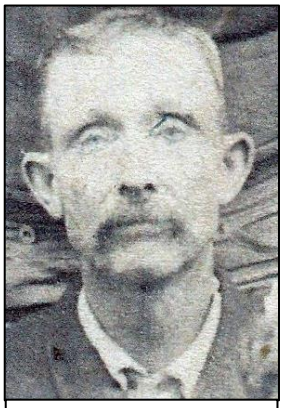
[305] Maybell McMullin Moulton Henry and Mary Piece McMullin in Henry's Memories in *FamilySearch* LKVB-SH8.
[306] Mound City later became part of Midway when the settlements joined in a fort in 1866.
[307] Phillip was the 39-year-old son of Richard Smith.
[308] Isaac was also called "Babe" and sometimes "Ike."
[309] James Ross is said to have been one of the first millers in Midway (William James Mortimer, How Beautiful upon the Mountains, DUP 1963, p. 575.) This could be James Jackson Ross, Melvin's son, who was 25 that year.
[310] McDonald had married two of Shirts' daughters in Springville and was now living in the fort at London with one of them, Sariah Shirts, age 20 and her four children.
[311] Before coming to Provo Valley, in 1852 Shirts and two or three other families built a small fort known as Walker Fort, later renamed Hamilton Fort, about six miles south of Cedar City. After leaving the Provo Valley, Shirts founded Montezuma Creek and was the first to settle Pahreah in 1865. He moved to San Juan in 1877 and died about 1882. The exact place is unknown but thought to be in the wilderness between Escalante and Fruitland, Colorado.

Bill Cummings

William Cummings, the brother-in-law to James Andrew Ross, married Mary Ann Meeks on October 23, 1861, and Melvin Ross, the second son of Andrew Jackson Ross Jr. and Rachel Leah Smith, married Julia Elizabeth Smith four weeks later, both marriages in London.



Melvin Ross (son of Andrew Jr.)

According to Crook's diary, on Christmas day 1861 a rainstorm fell on top of 18 inches of snow, washing out the road to Provo and cutting off winter travel for the third consecutive year. The settlers were still hauling their grain to Provo, and the new grist mill at Snake Creek was still under construction, so they made do with coffee grinders and a couple of small burrs set up by William Reynolds, driven by a horse walking in a muddy circle. This produced what they called chopped feed or graham flour, which got them through the winter, but each family could get only a half bushel of grain ground at a time with the tiny mill running night and day.

Through 1861 the Utah County/Salt Lake County line ran east and west about a mile south of the fort, so London and Midway were technically situated in Salt Lake County. But when Nevada became a Territory in early 1862 most counties in Utah were revised, and Wasatch County was organized as one of 17 new counties on February 22. Its western border was the summit of the Wasatch range. It was bounded on the south by Sanpete County, on the west by Utah and Salt Lake Counties, north by Summit County and it stretched all the way east to Colorado. By then there were over 1,000 people living in London, Upper and Lower Snake Creek (later Midway), Center Creek, Charleston, and Round Valley. This is when the name London was changed to Heber, honoring Heber C. Kimball, who had converted many of the original settlers while serving as a missionary in England. Upon learning of the name change, Elder Kimball reportedly said, "Now you good people have named your little town after me. I want you to see to it that you are honest, upright citizens and good Latter-day Saints that I may not have cause to be ashamed of you."[312]

The new county elected its officers in February. Henry McMullin was appointed supervisor of roads. Charles Shelton, who was appointed clerk to the probate court was also a correspondent for the newspaper in Provo. He reported on March 22nd on the organization of the county and on the general news of the county, which had been cut off since fall from any communication with the outside world. He wrote:

> A general good feeling prevails, and if it was not for our shut-up position, almost like a prison, the kanyon (sic) between here and Provo being entirely impassable, so that we get no news from our friends in other parts, we might rejoice in our situation. At present all our attention is occupied in looking after our stock. The scarcity of feed will, in all probability cause the death of

[312] William James Mortimer, How Beautiful upon the Mountains, DUP 1963, p. 13.

> a great many cattle. The snow at this date is, on an average, full three feet in depth, and no feed to be got….

Times must have been hard for the Ross family and their partners the Cummings, Parkers, and Carters, who were all cattlemen.

Under the direction of Henry McMullin, a county road was built in March running from Charleston along the "old immigrant trail" north to the northern boundary of the county, which was then known as the Ross Summit beyond Melvin Ross's ranch.

William Wall brought his sheep to graze in Round Valley in the spring of 1862 shortly after the county was organized. At the time there was a small cluster of houses at the Sessions spring, and a few at the sheep ranch of Melvin Ross, afterwards known as Hailstone's Ranch, about eight miles north of Heber. It is now underneath Jordanelle Reservoir at the west end of the long arm heading east. That summer Wall sent James Gurr and his 16-year-old pregnant wife Margaret Davis from their father's farm in Charleston to Round Valley to tend the sheep, and the following spring Wall, James' father Enoch Gurr,[313] and Dixon Greer joined James to start a new settlement.

Four school districts were organized in April: one in Heber, one in Lower Snake Creek, one in Upper Snake Creek, and one in Center Creek which served families in Lake Creek and Daniels as well. The first Center Creek school met in a one room log building heated by a pot belly stove in the middle of the room. Nancy Ross was 14 at this time, so she would have been in the eighth grade. It was likely a prohibitive distance to go to Heber for school after they moved to Center Creek in the winter of 1861, so she may have missed a year unless the school house preceded the formation of the district.

The same month another county road was built from Heber City through Center Creek to the sawmill in Center Creek Canyon.

When Church officials left Wasatch County that month for General Conference, they had to hike up Snake Creek Canyon over Guardsman's pass and down Big Cottonwood Canyon, a distance of 50 miles, to Temple Square, using snowshoes to cross areas with four feet of snow still on the ground.[314]

Bishop Murdock bought an entire block in Heber with a single cabin on it. Then he moved his own cabin there from Upper Snake Creek, built a third cabin, and by 1865 built his iconic brick home, which is still standing.

Bishop Murdock home

Spring came to the valley late in 1862, and half the valley was still covered with snow in May. The cattle and other animals were struggling. A grist mill had been constructed that fall and winter by John Van Wagoner at Snake Creek's lower settlement with a millstone made of granite hauled from American Fork Canyon. It was located near Snake Creek about a mile south of the eventual Midway settlement, and it

[313] The Gurr family had accompanied Wall home from his mission in Australia, and he married two of Enoch Gurr's daughters.

[314] Biography of William Bell KWJW-J7R, *FamilySearch*.

was operational, but the unusually severe winter produced a spring run-off that cut the people of Heber off from using it.

The resourceful supervisor of roads, Henry McMullin, built a boat near his farm that could ferry people across the Provo River and allow people to safely take their wheat to the new mill. John Crook described it as follows:

> Being a ship carpenter, he soon had a boat ready for service; the next question was where to launch it. The water had risen until it covered the Meeks Meadow and the island, making the river about a half mile wide. Being so wide, the current was not so swift, consequently this was chosen as the best place to cross, and we went to work hauling our grain over.… The river kept up and booming until after the Fourth of July. In fact, high water lasted until late in August. Ephraim Hanks made a "big splurge" on the Fourth of July and invited everybody over to the barbecue which consisted of a roast ox, and I don't know what all. So, the boys started over with teams to have a good time, but while crossing the river at what was known as the crossing, they had an upset and the wagon boxes floated off. Luckily, no one was hurt, and the sport went on…. So you may judge the amount of snow that fell in the mountains the preceding winter to keep high water up so long.[315]

About that time, Abraham Lincoln approved an act of Congress prohibiting slavery in the territories, and of great significance to Utah, the Morrill Anti-bigamy Bill was passed by the U.S. Senate and approved by President Lincoln on July 8th.

A log cabin meetinghouse with an earthen dirt roof and floor was constructed between the upper and lower Snake River settlements in time for pioneer day for the 50 residents in 20 families in the area. This was the first step toward a fort and a unified community that was fittingly named Midway.

Thomas Ross' heart "failed"[316] in 1862,

> …and it was necessary for (his sons) Robert at the age of nine and Thomas, age twelve, to share the responsibility of helping their mother provide for the family. They had cleared and planted a small tract of land and were doing quite well until the rabbits became so numerous they were destroying their crops. Their neighbors were all having the same trouble, so they organized in groups, each group covering a small area of land to kill the rabbits. One day while they were out killing rabbits the Ross home caught on fire. Before they were able to get the fire under control the house and everything in it except the cookstove, a barrel of molasses, and a few scorched quilts and blankets, was destroyed. The family then went to live with (Robert's married older brother) Andrew Ross, while another house was being built. While the men were building the new house, the women were busy carding and spinning yarn with which to make more clothing and blankets.

A bridge was built that August across the Provo River six miles north of Heber not far from Melvin Ross' place, approximately at the present site of the Jordanelle Dam. On August 8th two days of conference were attended by Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Daniel H. Wells, which featured the Provo choir

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[315] John Crook, History of Wasatch County, *Wasatch Wave* June 1, 1889, p. 4.

[316] As a doctor, I wonder what that means. He was only 48 years old, and survived the episode, living another 36 years. (Robert Francis Ross by Abner Gay Ross, Thomas Ross Memories in *FamilySearch*).

and brass band. Saturday evening there was a grand ball in the log meeting house. Everyone who could afford a tallow dip for light was requested to bring one along.

Around October father James A. Smith and his wife Maggie (Margaret Ann Love) were called to be "cotton missionaries," and they moved to the town of Washington, where their son Thomas Washington Smith lived with his wives Sarah Ann, Susan, and Nancy Ross Smith and their twelve children. Their daughter Leah Young and her husband William Young lived two houses away. They took Mary Susan Stephens with them.[317] They probably also took Thomas Washington Smith's oldest son Robert Adam Smith, and Andrew Ross' orphaned and indentured son George Washington Ross, who had been boarding with them at the time of the census.[318] James A. wrote in his very brief autobiography: "I stayed in Provo about nine years and two years in Provo Valley. I then came to Southern Utah and stayed with my children...."

That same month, Colonel Patrick Edward Connor arrived in Salt Lake City from California with his Third Regiment of California Volunteer Infantry and established Camp Douglas on the foothills east of Salt Lake City. His mission was to keep the California Trail open during the Civil War and to keep an eye on Brigham Young. It did not take Colonel Connor very long to have an impact. On January 29, 1863, the Beaver Creek Massacre occurred just a few miles north of Cache County in which Connor and about 200 troops decimated a band of 400 Shoshone Indians. Sixteen U.S. soldiers and 225 Indians were killed. Several smaller engagements between federal troops and Indians followed in Spanish Fork Canyon and in Pleasant Grove, heightening tensions with the Utes.

Relations between the Mormons and Connor were not good. On January 10th Brigham Young was arrested for bigamy, but he was soon released on bail.

In the spring, Thomas C. Smith, Richard's 37-year-old son, moved from Provo to Heber in time to have a daughter born there July 2nd. Thomas' health was fragile, so instead of ranching he worked in the Hatch store.[319] Sidney Rigdon Carter's two wives, the Ross sisters Peggy Ann and Leah, were still living in Provo when Leah's third son James Andrew was born there on June 27, 1863. It was sometime after that, but before the next child was born in 1865, that he moved Leah and her children to Center Creek. Peggy Ann, the older sister, and her children remained in Provo.

On December 15,1863, Henry and Mary McMullin's five-year-old daughter Susan died.

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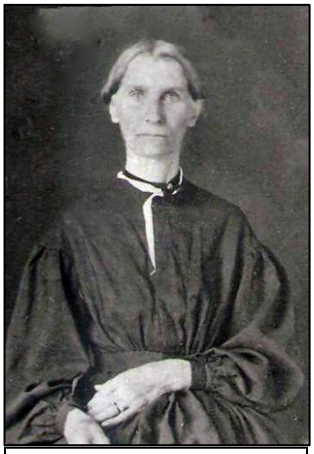
[317] Mary Susan eventually married James Edward Smith, son of Thomas Washington Smith, at age 18 and had 12 children in Southern Utah.

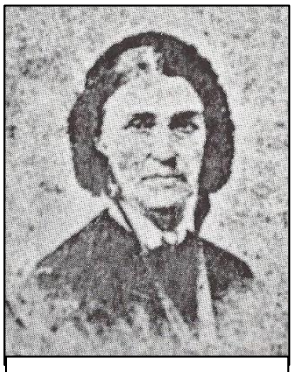
[318] It must have been a joyful reunion with the Smith family in Washington. Thomas Washington Smith's first wife Mary Ann Ross was a half-sister to George who was 15 years old when was born into her family and died when he was five. Thomas' second wife was Sarah Boren, George's foster sister with whom he lived two years. His third wife, Nancy Ross Kilbreth was also a half-sister to George. George later married Martha Ann Smith, the oldest daughter of Thomas Washington Smith, by his 3rd wife in Washington, Utah on August 28, 1864. George helped Jacob Hamblin to settle Kanab and tragically died in 1872 at the age of 39 when he fell down a well.

[319] Abram Hatch, then 33, was from Vermont, and had crossed the plains several times as a freighter of merchandise. He had been a farmer and hotelier in Lehi when he was called in 1867 to be the Presiding Bishop of Wasatch County and became Stake President in 1877, guiding the construction of the Heber Tabernacle. He established his store in Heber in 1867, owned the grist mill, made roads, built ditches, and served in the legislature, introducing the first bill providing for woman suffrage.

Thomas Ross' older brother, Melvin Ross, moved away from Heber in March 1864, and soon thereafter left the Church. He may have been in trouble with the law according to a descendant who accessed some sort of Heber legal documents, but I have been unable to confirm it. Another theory holds that the bishop wanted to marry one of Melvin's daughters, 15-year-old Rebecca, as a polygamist wife, and Melvin didn't approve. That bishop would have been Joseph Stacy Murdock, who had moved to Heber in 1861 from American Fork.[320] Another story is that Melvin just didn't want to pay tithing. In any case, Melvin and Rebecca took their family to Montana, where Melvin showed his wealth by buying land in Gallatin with gold dust. They took all of Rebecca's children with them.[321] Melvin also took his plural wife, Martha Nelson Parker, their seven-year-old daughter Orpha, and some of Martha's children from a prior marriage.[322]



Martha Nelson Parker



Rebecca Smith Ross

Melvin, his first wife Rebecca, and several of his family joined the RLDS in Gallatin around 1867, and he quit practicing polygamy, which meant that Martha was suddenly on her own. She left with her daughter Orpha, her son-in-law, Anderson Ewing, and her granddaughter Almeda for Sugar Creek, Missouri in time to appear in the 1870 census under her former name of Martha Parker. They were reputedly living among Martha's extended family members.[323] Rebecca's son James appeared in the Gallatin, Montana census in 1870 with his younger brother, Melvin Nephi. By that time their father and the rest of the family were already underway for Kansas and missed the census.

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[320] It is not hard to see where that idea came from. Bishop Murdock already had six wives including 18-year-old Pernetta, the Shoshone child who had been orphaned at the battle of Fort Provo in 1850 and adopted by him along with her brother. At the time of capture, the boy was losing his baby teeth, thus about seven years old, and the girl was variously described as "about a year younger" and "merely a baby." (She is said to have been a daughter of Arapeen. I think this is unlikely for two reasons. First, her children were later denied membership in the Ute tribe on the grounds that they were Shoshone. Arapeen was a Ute chieftain. Second, Arapeen was alive until 1860.) The two children were given to Murdock's first wife Eunice to raise because she was childless. Pernetta was later sealed as a sixth wife to her adopted father, the bishop, when she was between 11 and 15 years old.

[321] The wife of their oldest son, James Jackson Ross, had died in 1862 leaving him with three girls ages two through six. He left them in Heber with their maternal grandparents, who raised them to maturity. Rebecca's second child, Isaac, was recently married and had no children. Emma, who was twenty-two years old and eight months pregnant, accompanied them with her husband John Henry Thomas and an 18 month old daughter. Sarah Josephine was six. She died shortly after arrival. Rebecca was four and Melvin Nephi was not quite two.

[322] Martha's oldest son Robert Parker had a wife and child. He did not go with them, although it is possible that Robert followed later after his two children were born in Provo in 1864 and 1866. Two of Martha's sons had died young. Her fourth son, Joseph Parker, stayed in Utah, having married Thomas Ross' daughter Mary Elizabeth and lived with her family in Center Creek. Martha's sixth child, Alma Parker, and his young wife did go with them and stayed in Montana permanently. Martha also took her daughter Exile Liberty, age 18, and her husband Anderson Ewing. Liberty died in Gallatin at the age of 20 shortly after giving birth to her first child.

[323] Her first marriage had been in Palmyra, Missouri, but that was 200 miles away on the eastern border of the state.

Rebecca's two boys[324] returned to Utah and so did Martha's oldest boy, Robert Parker. Melvin Nephi Ross also returned to Midway, and later to Fillmore and Kanosh. Robert Parker eventually returned to Utah and settled at Joseph before 1873. Melvin Ross Sr. never returned. He died at the age of 86 in Arcadia, Crawford, Kansas.

On May 8, 1864, Congress passed an act creating a federal Indian reservation in the Uintah River drainage, which at the time was within Wasatch County. The Utes, whose various tribal groups were scattered throughout Utah were expected to be living on the reservation within one year. This would soon become a serious problem.

Melinda Cummings

James Andrew Ross' former wife, Melinda Cummings Ross, married Jacob Baum in Heber that July. When it became clear that Andrew was sterile, he and Linda, as she was known, agreed to a separation. She and Jacob Baum raised a family and made her home in Provo, where Andrew often called to see them and always took gifts to the children, who called him Uncle Andrew. Linda had obtained a temple divorce from Andrew on November 2, 1863.

It was in 1864 that people in Heber began using the native red sandstone for building. They erected the first stone school and church buildings that fall. The Heber Fort wall was also completed that fall, probably because of anxieties about the expected influx of displaced Utes into the county. Lake Creek marked the south line of the fort.[325]

Margaret and Thomas Ross' third child, Joshua Josiah, was born at Center Creek in October and died three days later.

By this time, Nancy Jane Ross was sixteen, the oldest child still in Thomas and Rachel's household, and the only remaining girl. Her younger brothers, Thomas, Robert, and John were aged twelve, ten, and eight respectively, and probably owned their own horses and herded cattle with their older brother and brothers-in-law.

Joseph Parker and Mary Elizabeth

Nancy's older brother Andrew and his wife Sarah Ann were childless and living nearby in Center Creek. Her oldest sister Peggy Ann, whom Sidney Carter had married as a condition for him to marry Leah, was still living in Provo when their son Thomas Dominicus Carter was born January 9, 1865. Peggy Ann may have lived in Provo until Sidney and his families went with the Ross family to Kanosh in 1869. Nancy's sister Mary Elizabeth, her husband Joseph Parker, and their 18 month old daughter Hulda were also living in Center Creek as was her "Aunt" Margaret, Thomas' second wife, with her two children ages five and two.

[324] James married a second wife named Catherine Provost in Heber in 1873, had two more children. He lived that decade in Midway and died in Uintah County.

[325] Modern contour maps show a dry gully leading into Spring Creek about a half mile west of the block between 2nd and 3rd North. Lake Creek long ago disappeared into many irrigation canals.

Nancy wrote in her brief autobiography that she had a pony of her own in whom she took great pride. It was her only mode of travel. She remembered the ringing sounds its shoes made as she rode over the crust of the "hot pots" in Midway about ten miles from her home. It is possible that this is when she met her future husband, Albert McMullin.

Nancy's older sister, Leah Carter, had finally moved from Provo to Center Creek by March 22, 1865, when Lea's daughter, Mary Jane, was born. Their maternal grandmother, Margaret Love Smith died that month in Washington County.

On April 9, 1865, General Robert E. Lee surrendered at Appomattox, ending the Civil War. Ten days later the state of Utah went into mourning after getting word by telegraph of the assassination of President Lincoln.

A hundred miles south of Center Creek a fight occurred in Manti on April 8th between an interpreter named John Lowry and the young Ute Chief Arapeen,[326] who with Black Hawk, son of the aging chief Sanpitch of the Sanpete Valley, and a handful of braves had showed up unannounced at a council meeting. The Mormon settlers assumed that the Indians had appeared to settle differences over fifteen cattle (including one of Lowry's) who had recently been killed by the Indians for food. But the Indians had come for another reason. They were demanding compensation for the recent death of Arapeen's father, who had died near Gunnison that winter from smallpox, and they blamed it on the settlers.

An argument ensued with Lowry, who may have been drunk. Lowry dragged the young chief by the hair from his horse and administered a severe beating before the two men could be dragged apart.

Two days later the Utah Black Hawk War broke out, when Black Hawk led sixteen Utes to steal a cattle herd outside of Manti. A group of young settlers showed up, and one of them named Peter Ludvigson was killed trying to stop them. When the Mormon boys fled the scene, the Utes rounded up the forty cattle and headed for Salina Canyon. Two days later an 84 member group of the Sanpete militia headed by Reddick Allred tracked the Indians into the canyon, where militia men were ambushed and sent fleeing in a panic to Salina, leaving the bodies of two dead soldiers behind.

On May 25th a band of Utes killed Jens Larsen about four miles north of Fairview as he was herding his flock of sheep, and the next day the same group killed John and Elizabeth Given and their three children at Birdseye. Two hired men escaped to tell the tale. The Indians stole food, tools, and guns, killed the calves, and drove off over 100 head of cattle and horses. Upon returning to Fairview four days later, they killed David Hadlock Jones, a former Mormon Battalion member.[327]

Seeking to cool things down, Brigham Young and the Federal Indian Agent Col. O. H. Irish met with the chiefs and 500 native men at Spanish Fork's Indian Farm to work out a peace agreement, which was to include moving the Utes to the Uintah Basin, giving them an annual payment of $25,000, and improvements that included a vocational school, grist mills, and sawmills. The chiefs who attended were Sowiette, the chief of the Utes from Utah Valley, Tabby from the Uintah Utes, Antero and Kanosh from the Pahvant tribe, and Sanpitch from Sanpete County. All agreed to the terms except Sanpitch, who accepted his gifts, but refused to sign the agreement. While the negotiations were still underway,

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[326] Arapeen's father, also named Arapeen, had been chief of the Timpanogos tribe which was driven from Utah Valley in 1850. Lowry and Black Hawk had a history dating back to the Battle Creek incident in 1849.
[327] *Deseret News*, June 7, 1865.

Sanpitch's son Black Hawk attacked Thistle Valley, and the fighting in Sanpete continued all summer with depredations on both sides.

In mid-June, the people living in Round Valley moved to Heber for safety. The Utes had begun to gather in Strawberry Valley about 45 miles from Heber and only 30 miles from Round Valley. The border of the reservation was only 20 miles southeast of Heber at the head of Daniels Canyon.

James Andrew Ross succeeded John Harvey as president of the Center Creek Branch in the fall of 1865. Another man with links to the Gibson County group settled in Heber that fall. This was Lebbeus Thaddeus Coons, the former branch president of the Camp Creek Branch in Hancock County, Illinois where the Ross and Smith families had settled in 1842 after leaving Tennessee.[328]

Black Hawk was bitter about having been ordered to move from Sanpete and Sevier Counties onto the reservation in eastern Wasatch County, and this worried the white population.

Albert McMullin wrote in his autobiography, "In 1866 (my father) had to move his family back (from his farm on Meeks Bottoms) to Heber on account of the Black Hawk War. Then my first real experience began. I joined the cavalry to fight the Indians, if necessary." It was not just Meeks Bottoms that evacuated; nearly all the people from the surrounding settlements moved to the forts. Albert McMullin was 19 by then, and Nancy Ross was 17.

Joseph Parker and Mary Elizabeth Ross were in their new house in the southeast part of Heber City when their third child, Bryant, was born on November 12, 1866. They may have taken some of the Ross family into their home when they fled Center Creek.

The little fort in Midway on the west side of the Provo River where the upper and lower Snake River settlements had combined for safety held 75 cabins by mid-summer, but most people in the valley "forted up" in Heber.

The displaced Mormons took turns at night watching their stock, but even then animals were often stolen. The Indians ran off with 15 cows from Center Creek on May 15th, and other raids followed. Center Creek remained deserted from then until 1877. Many families had become established in Heber and didn't return.

Col. Robert T. Burton brought orders on May 26th from General Daniel H. Wells,[329] to organize a fighting force in Wasatch County. John W. Witt was appointed Major of the militia and William M. Wall was appointed Captain of a cavalry company. The following men with ties to the Gibson County Mormons were noted on the first roster of 125 recruits: First Platoon: Ephraim Smith, John J. Cummings, and Phillip Smith (sergeant). Silver Greys: (probably senior reservists) Thomas Ross, Richard Smith, and John Cummings. Second Platoon: John Cummings Jr. Third platoon: Andrew Ross (lieutenant), William

[328] Coons had arrived in Iowa in 1846 with the first pioneer party at Council Bluffs. He founded a settlement called Bethlehem in Pottawattamie County, later Coonsville, and another later at Glenwood, but did not leave Iowa for about 19 years. He bought a city lot in Heber when he arrived and another on the same block in February 1866, where he practiced herbal medicine. After his first wife died he moved his family to Salem in 1867.

[329] Wells was a member of the First Presidency, Mayor of Salt Lake City, and Commandant of the "Nauvoo Legion" in Utah prior to the arrival of Patrick E. Connor.

Cummings, Albert E. McMullen, Isaac Cummings, Sidney Carter, and Joseph Parker. Daniel Baird wrote of the militia:

> During the years of 1865-66 all men were called to join the militia to protect the town from Indian attacks and the acts of other wrong doers. Once a week the men drilled on the public square, then down at John Witt's place, he being the major. I used to go to see the men drill. About two-thirds of them had no guns but used sticks shaped like guns. (If true, the use of wooden guns may not have lasted for long. According to the official muster roster, each man was issued a horse, saddle, revolver, rifle, and 60 rounds of ammunition. In addition, officers had a second revolver and a sword.) The Martial Band would play and the officers yell commands to the men. "March! About face! Halt! Fire! as they marched around the square. When they fired the wooden guns the noise wasn't very loud so they would reload and go the rounds once more. One company was called the Silver Grays, captained by Thomas Todd and he had one good time drilling these men. Some had guns, some had wooden guns, and some just walking sticks, but they made a good bunch of soldiers because they couldn't desert. Major Witt rode a sorrel horse, wore a broad brimmed hat with the feather in the side of it, and a red shirt, and he carried a sword about three feet long in his hand.[330]

Brigham Young ordered William Wall to organize an expedition to take one hundred head of cattle to the Utes on the reservation as a gift, hoping to avert fighting. Wall chose ten members of his cavalry company together with fourteen others and started out on May 27, 1866. Nineteen-year-old Albert McMullin had enrolled under William Wall as a private in the cavalry. In his claim for a military pension he wrote, "made trip to Ft. Duchesne in pursuit of hostile Indians," but that was probably a later expedition after the peace offering failed.

In July, scouts in the mountains saw the tracks of a band of Utes and signs of a prized big white mule that had been reported stolen from Henry Dinwoodey, the Salt Lake City furniture maker, and they warned the Heber militia. Parties of four on horseback were ordered out to track the Indians down. While they were preparing to leave, another band of Indians stole all of Thomas Hundley's cattle except the bell cow from his corral in Heber.[331]

One of the parties of trackers was commanded by Andrew Ross of the Third Platoon. The three men who volunteered to go with him were Isaac (Ike) Cummings, (brother to Andrew Ross's wife), Joseph Parker, and Sidney Carter, (husbands to three of Andrew's sisters). Equipped with the standard issue of a knife, rifle, and a six-shooter each, they rode up Lake Canyon east of Heber where they came across the tracks of cattle, the stolen mule, and Indian ponies, and followed them over the eastern ridge overlooking the Duchesne River in the Uintah Valley until they spotted the Indians encamped. The four men tied up their horses and crept closer through the brush and timber. According to Joseph Parker, the Indians had killed a beef, and an old Indian was seen scraping off the fat while the meat was hanging on

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[330] *FamilySearch* KWZX-DD7.

[331] Thomas Hundley was from Alabama, and later, Texas. He and his family came to Heber in the spring of 1862 from Tooele after being early settlers of what became Denver, Colorado. He worked primarily cutting timber for Witt's sawmill in Lake Creek Canyon. Although he worked in the canyon, I suspect he lived in Heber because his children were blessed by Wall and Witt. He died at the age of 46 when a tree fell on him in 1870.

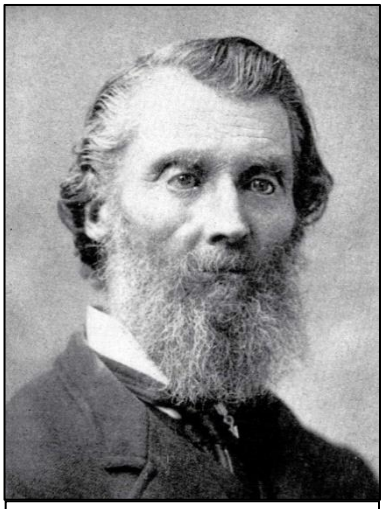
a scaffold being jerked. From here the stories differ.[332] According to Parker, Ike Cummings had the best rifle, so he was chosen to take the first shot.

> When we got a good place to shoot from, we turned loose one at a time. Ike had the first shot and then we took it in turns as we sat in a row. After there was four shots fired at that Indian, he jumped and ran off a ways. Then others jumped up and jumped onto a horse, one of them on a yellow horse. Andrew Ross fired at him, and I saw Ike take a whack at him while Carter and myself were loading our guns. There was nothing more seen of him and the other Indians got away too. (According to two of the other accounts, the three men fired simultaneously. In two accounts, two of the Indians were killed.)

The Heber men found the mule, packed up some saddles belonging to the Indians, and drove the cattle back along the trail. After a mile or two when they spotted a group of riders coming toward them they were relieved to find they were militia members, and not more Indians. All the cattle were returned except the one which had been butchered, and the mule was eventually returned to Dinwoodey.

On December 12, 1866, the Deseret Telegraph line was opened between Salt Lake City and Ogden, and within a month it extended to Logan and Manti, reaching St. George on January 15, 1867.

Joseph Stacy Murdock, the bishop in Heber, was trusted among the Utes because of his Indian wife. He invited Chief Tabby and some of the lesser chiefs to Heber with their families. An ox was killed, a feast was prepared, and after that, fewer raids were made in Wasatch County although the war continued in much of the rest of the state for another year. Richfield was evacuated in April 1867 due to Indian difficulties and before long, so was the rest of Sevier and Paiute Counties and much of the Kanab area.



Bishop Murdock

When Bishop Murdock was called to the Cotton Mission, he was followed briefly by John W. Witt for a few months until Abram Hatch of Lehi became the new bishop. Hatch became stake president in 1877. Henry McMullin was on his high council.

Peggy Ann Ross Carter, Sidney's first wife, was still living in Provo when her daughter Sarah Elizabeth was born March 21, 1867.

Josiah Pearce, Albert McMullin's grandfather, died in Heber at the age of 71 on August 15, 1867. That year Albert McMullin worked in Lamb's Canyon for John Barker, a man from Weber County, who was freighting between Parley's Canyon and Weber County.

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[332] Of the five available accounts of this story, only Parker's was written by an eyewitness. Version one: "From Under Wasatch Skies." Version two: Bernadene Bird Peterson, Sidney Rigdon Carter, memories. Version three: Joseph Parker autobiography. Version four: Joseph Parker, as told to "Miss Hunt," by Ella P. Ogden in Parker/Ross Memoirs, 1965, pp. 73-79. Version five: Notes, Isaac Cummings in *FamilySearch* states: "The scouts each picked a man, and at the count of three all fired. Two of the Indians were killed, while the third disappeared into the timber."

Thomas Ross and his two wives, Rachel and Margaret, made a trip from Heber to Salt Lake City on August 17, 1867 to be sealed in the Endowment House. On the same day Thomas was also sealed posthumously to someone named Nancy Smith.[333]

In the summer of 1867 the Ute Chief Tabby-To-Kwanah of the Uintah tribe met with leaders in Heber to end the fighting. William Cummings was an interpreter for the Indians. Chief Tabby called at his home and demanded that he go to Bishop Murdock of Heber and have him make a treaty. William took the Indians to the Bishop, who was in the field plowing, and a treaty was made on August 20, 1867. By this time people had already begun moving out of the fort, and the conflict was effectively over in Provo Valley.[334]

On Thomas' page in *FamilySearch* there is another posthumous sealing to Mary Ann Thornton, who was allegedly born June 7, 1812, in Springfield, Yorkshire, England. No marriage date or source is given.[335]

According to the biography of John Crook, 1868 was a bad grasshopper year in Heber, ruining almost all of the crops in the valley. Crook was able to save five acres of wheat by running a stream of water around his field and going out each morning with his wife and children using long willows to drive back the hoppers that had jumped the ditch.

Building the transcontinental railroad was an economic boon for the Mormons, bringing employment and much-needed cash to the territory. Brigham Young, who had bought $5,000 worth of stock in the project, was a great supporter. After construction began, he said, "Hurry up! Hasten the work! We want to hear the iron horse puffing through this valley. What for? To bring our brethren and sisters here." True to his word, Young welcomed the surveying parties and provided supplies and guides. In May he signed a contract to do the grading for 90 miles of the route, which employed great numbers of Mormon

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[333] From Nauvoo Records, Ancestral File. Nancy Smith is an exceedingly common name, so this person remains a mystery, but I wonder if she was a sister of Rachel's who died young, never leaving a record. If the birth year given for Nancy is correct, she would fit into a four-year gap between her brother Thomas Washington Smith and the twins, Robert and William. Since there is no girl Nancy's age among James A. Smith's family recorded in the 1830 census, she would have died before the age of 12 and her birthplace would have been in Smith, Tennessee, not Guilford, North Carolina as listed in the record.

[334] The official treaty ending the Black Hawk War was signed in Mount Pleasant in June 1868.

[335] This could have been Mary Ann Thornton (K45F-1ZT in *FamilySearch*), who was born that year in Huddersfield, four miles from Springfield. She moved with her father's family to Ontario, Canada before 1830 when she was 18. Her two older brothers, John and Thomas, joined the Church there and moved with their wives to La Harpe, Illinois. La Harpe is about ten miles from Camp Creek, so it is conceivable that Thomas Ross was acquainted with the Thornton brothers. Thomas Thornton is said to have been intimate with Joseph Smith. Both brothers were seventies in Hancock County as was Thomas Ross, perhaps in the same quorum. Four of Thomas Thornton's five children died in La Harpe. When the Mormons were expelled, he and his brother fled north with their families up the Mississippi, where Thomas died in Galena, Illinois in July 1846. His wife Susan made her way to Winter Quarters with their 13-year-old son Jasper, where she married George Wallace Birch and crossed the plains to Utah in 1851. Jasper Thornton was living with his wife in Ogden during The Move in 1858, so it is possible that he was in Provo briefly during that spring and in contact with the Ross family. Jasper later settled in Cache Valley and finally Bear Lake, Idaho. Meanwhile, Mary Ann Thornton never left Canada. There she married, had two girls, and died in 1841 at the age of 28, two weeks after the birth of her second daughter. Her husband died two years later leaving their two girls orphaned.

men. Work in Echo Canyon and Devil's Gate began around June. During the year 1868 Nancy's 15-year-old brother Robert Francis Ross worked there and so did Andrew Ross.[336]

Nancy Jane Ross and Albert McMullin both wrote brief autobiographies, but neither said much about their courtship and wedding. Albert summed it up in two sentences: "On the 15th day of December 1858, I married Nancy Jane Ross in the old Endowment House in Salt Lake City, Utah. We were married by Daniel H. Wells." All that Nancy wrote of the courtship is that they met in Heber City. Concerning the marriage itself she added that they went to the Endowment House because the temple had not yet been completed.[337] "I was then 20 years old, and Albert was 22 years old. There were three couples of us that went to be married at the same time. We went together in an old wagon – it took two days to go and two days to come back. Our weddings were all held at once in the same building."

Given the difficulties of winter travel, the timing of the wedding is interesting. And what route would they have taken? What are the logistics of moving six young people so far in an old wagon? And with whom did they travel?

Part of the answer can be found in the story of Joseph Moulton.[338]

> The middle of December 1868 four couples left Heber for Salt Lake to be married in the Endowment House. They were William Lindsay and Mary Mair, Robert Lindsay and Sarah Murdock, Al McMullin and Nancy Jane Ross, Joseph Moulton and Mary Elizabeth Giles…. They went by way of Parley's Canyon, and it took them two days to make the trip.

The Lindsay brothers were from Scotland. They had worked in a coal mine with two younger brothers, since the age of ten. Their parents had joined the Church in 1848 but their family did not come to America until 1862 after their father was killed in a mining accident. Their widowed mother brought her eight children aboard the ship John J. Boyd,[339] directly to Heber from Florence, Nebraska. Robert Lindsey's 's young bride was Sarah Ann Murdock, the oldest daughter of the bishop. In her extensive autobiography she mentions that she had been baptized by Henry McMullin in Spring Creek, which ran from the north of the fort toward the Provo River, in a slow moving deep part of the creek which was regularly used for group baptisms. She wrote of swimming as a young girl at the "hot pots" in the Upper Snake Creek settlement and hunting for fossils in the clay ledges of Center Creek Canyon. William Lindsay's wife was Mary Murdoch Mair, a Scottish girl whose cousin Janett Murdoch would later marry Albert's younger brother Henry Lufkin McMullin.

Much more information on the wedding trip was supplied by William Lindsay. Here is the account from his autobiography, which curiously does not mention traveling companions other than his own relatives.

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[336] The transcontinental railway was completed at Promontory Point on May 10, 1869.

[337] The Salt Lake Temple was not dedicated for another 35 years, but the St. George Temple was opened April 6, 1877, and the Manti Temple May 17, 1888.

[338] This history was compiled by Velma Buys, a neighbor, from information gathered through interviews with Joseph and Sarah Denton Moulton in September 1928. Joseph Moulton had come from England directly to Provo in the famed Willie Handcart Company in 1856 and moved with his parents to the fort in the Provo Valley in the spring of 1860. He was now 23 years old. His 16-year-old bride, Mary Giles, was a member of the Giles family which made up most of the official group to settle in London in the spring of 1859.

[339] This is the same group in which my mother's maternal grandparents, the Oakeys came.

We were planning to go to the endowment house to be married, so my brother, Robert and his girl Sarah Murdock decided to go with us. Sarah was 15 years old, and Robert was 23. Mary was 16 and I was 21 years of age. On the 12th of December 1868[340] we started out with two yoke of oxen and a wagon. Mother went with us and also Ann Richardson and her two children.[341] The first night we camped in the camp house at Kimball's[342] in Parley's park. It was a very cold night. The next morning, we started out very early but the roads were frozen and very slippery, so we traveled very slowly as the oxen kept falling down. It got dark while we were still up in Parley's Canyon. Some men with a horse team tried to pass us and their horses fell down and one was floundering under the wagon tongue. It was very dark, and Robert and I went to help. One of the men said: "You boys stand back. You might get hurt." Mother quickly spoke up in her Scottish Brogue and said, "They are my boys, they are on their way to get married."

Albert and Nancy McMullin

We finally reached N.C. Murdoch's house in Salt Lake, where we all stayed. That would have been late on December 12th. The next day was Sunday December 13th and we attended church. On Monday we went to the Endowment House, but there were so many ahead of us, we had to wait for the next day. So we went and had our pictures taken and bought wedding rings for our bonnie brides. In the evening we attended the Salt Lake Theater and saw some very good actors present "Romeo and Juliet." ….On December 15, 1868, we were united in marriage in the Endowment House by Daniel H. Wells for time and all eternity. Of course, we had our endowments and sealings…. Robert and Sarah stayed in Salt Lake a week more. The next day we started December 16th our journey home—Mother, Mary, and me. One ox was lame, so I chained him and his mate behind the wagon and gave Mary a long stick.[343]

In the spring of 1869, Nancy's parents, Thomas and Rachel Ross, moved with their children and the families of their married children (except Albert and Nancy) to Kanosh, as will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

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[340] This date can't be right. It must have been Thursday, December 10th, since they arrived in Salt Lake on the 12th.
[341] I was unable to identify Ann Richardson with certainty.
[342] A ranch house with a rendezvous area at Parley's Park accommodated immigrant wagon trains between 1860 and 1863. William Kimball established a stage station there in 1864 with a post office that served Heber and Park City. The toll road created by Parley P. Pratt was still functioning down Parley's Canyon to Salt Lake City. https://utahrails.net/articles/parleys.php
[343] The bride in this wedding photo has sometimes been mistakenly labeled as Albert's second wife, Elizabeth "Lizzy" Bell. However, Nancy had blue eyes and Lizzy's eyes were dark brown.

Albert McMullin was working on railroad construction when their first child Estella Jane was born in Heber on November 18, 1869. He had worked the previous year in Echo Canyon, but by the time the baby was born, the transcontinental line was complete, so he must have been working on the Utah Central Railway between Ogden and Salt Lake.[344]

Albert wrote that he and Nancy later rented a farm from the "widow McDonald in Provo."[345] The farm was actually in Springville and included a log house on Third East on the south side of Second South. It was available to rent because Sarah McDonald had moved to Heber to join her children there in 1862. Albert nearly died of measles while at the McDonald farm, and probably didn't do much farming, as he was bed ridden for weeks.

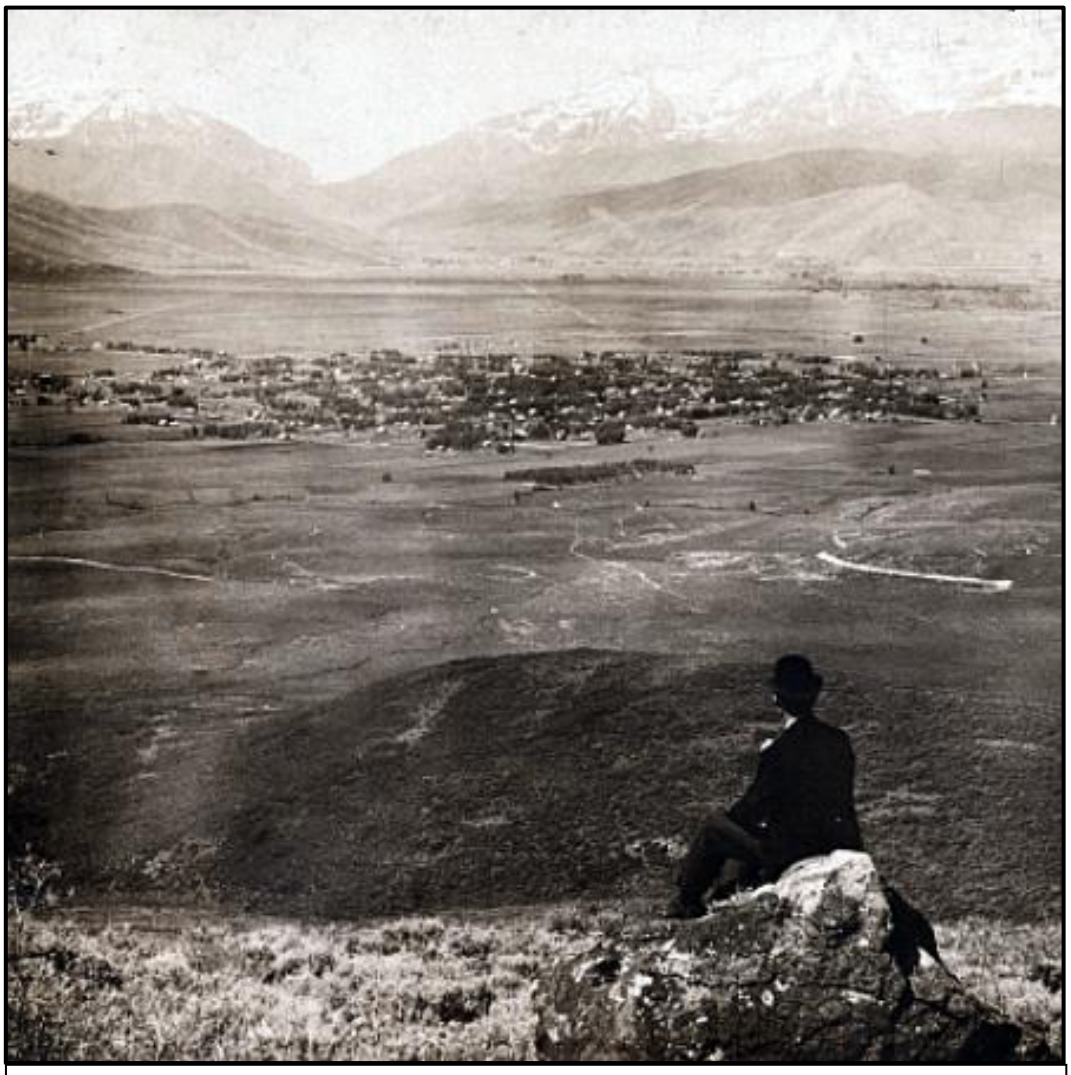
The Utah Legislature gave women the right to vote on February 12, 1870.

By June 1870 Albert and Nancy were back in Heber, living in the home of Albert's parents. Albert had a job working at John W. Witt's lumber mill in Lake Creek Canyon, where Witt owned about 1,500 acres of land and had built a small reservoir to feed the mill. Albert's twenty-year-old brother Alphonzo was working as a teamster at Bridger, Wyoming.

That fall Albert and Nancy McMullin went to Kanosh to visit Nancy's family. They decided to stay and rented a farm near town in partnership with Nancy's brother Andrew, taking Andrew's cattle on shares and building a tiny log cabin there.

[344] The Utah Central Railway was founded by Brigham Young to connect the capital city to the transcontinental route. It was begun in 1869 a week after the celebration at Promontory Summit and completed on January 10, 1870, with its own golden spike engraved with the words "Holiness to the Lord." Surplus rails, spikes, bolts, cars and other supplies were supplied by the Union Pacific in lieu of that cash owed to Mormon railroad workers who completed the transcontinental line through Utah but were never paid.

[345] The widow McDonald was Sarah Ferguson McDonald, whose son William had married two of Peter Shirts' daughters, Sariah and Elizabeth, and moved to Heber. Her own husband had died of cholera near the Platte River on the way to Utah in 1850 leaving her with seven children. She settled briefly in Mountainville (Alpine) and then moved to Springville that winter to be near her daughter Eliza, who married William Clyde.



Heber Valley looking southwest to Provo Canyon from Lookout Peak.

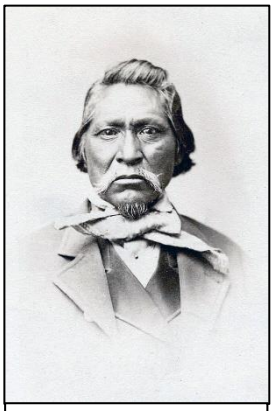
Copyright 1909 by E. W. Kelley

Chapter Ten – Kanosh and Joseph

Father Escalante referred to the Pahvants as the "bearded Utes." The native word Pah-vant means "water gone," referring to Lake Sevier, the remnant of Lake Bonneville, which at sunset shows impressive bathtub rings on the eastern hills and completely dries up many years, especially since the advent of irrigation.

Around 1824 a young Pahvant Ute named Kanosh was born near Spanish Fork. As a young brave he took part in the Utes' extensive trading with Mexicans in southern California, where he learned to speak Spanish. According to William Black,[346] the branch president of the Deseret Branch,[347] Kanosh also spoke "good English for an Indian." Kanosh came to Corn Creek before 1851 as a young chieftain of the Ute Pahvant band, succeeding a more belligerent chief named Chuick. Possibly due to his prior experience with white people in California as well as his language skills, Kanosh approached the Mormon invasion of his tribal lands with an attitude that favored negotiation over conflict, often to the dismay of the other Ute clans.

Kanosh is said to have been Walkara's brother, and he was a good friend of Sanpitch,[348] and another source[349] says his brothers were Walkara, Arapeen, Sowiette, Tabby, and Sanpitch, but these were more likely cousins.



Chief Kanosh

The Pahvant Valley was known to the Utah pioneers from the fall of 1847 when Jefferson Hunt first passed through it and again in 1849 when he ushered a group of gold seekers to California via the southern route. Returning members of the Mormon Battalion passed through the valley in 1848, and Parley P. Pratt's group of explorers spent part of the winter of 1849-50 at Chalk Creek.

However, no Mormons settled there until October 4, 1851, when the legislature of the new Territory of Utah decided to move its capital to the geographic center of the state. Within three weeks Brigham Young arrived and selected the site, which he named Fillmore in honor of the current U.S. president and instructed Jesse W. Fox to lay out a city and mark a site for the territorial government building. Bishop Anson Call of Davis County was appointed to take charge of a colony of new settlers, who built a fort with cabins forming the outer wall and began cultivating the land.[350] There were some early conflicts with Kanosh's clan, and Brigham Young sent Dimick Huntington, the official Church translator, to negotiate terms of peace. It took three years to prepare the new town to host the legislature.

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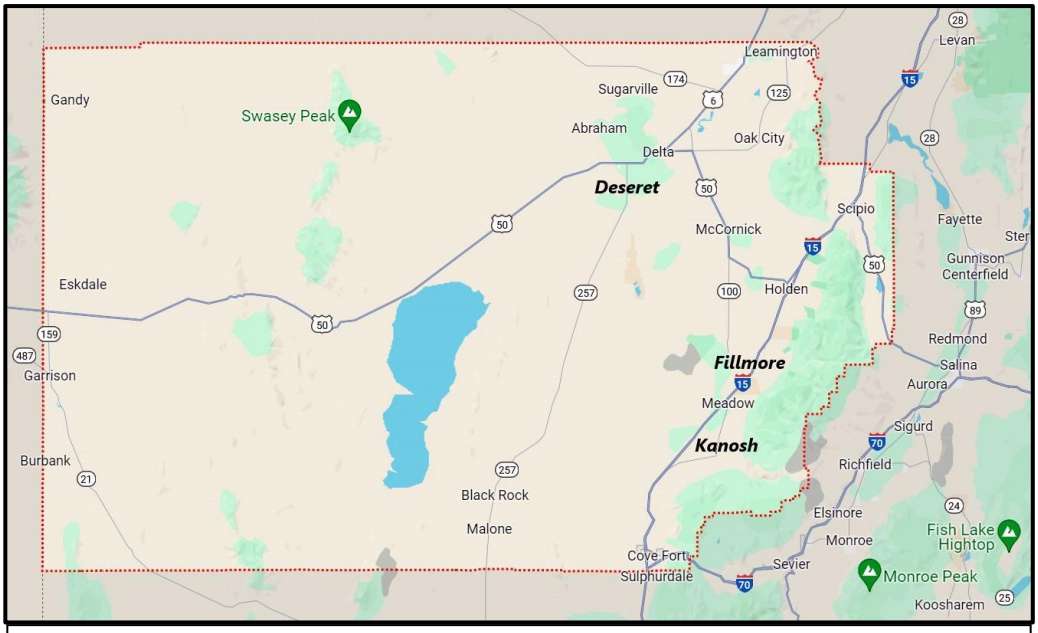
[346] William Valentine Black had been an early settler of Manti in 1850 and in Spring City in 1855. After a mission to Dixie, he moved to Kanosh in February 1869, and then to Deseret when he was called to serve as branch president in June 1877.

[347] Fort Deseret is about 43 miles northwest of Kanosh on the Sevier River. It was built in 1865 during the Black Hawk War to protect settlers, who had settled there in the summer of 1858, most of them from Fillmore, where a dam was built on the Sevier river for irrigation purposes. However, flooding of the Sevier washed away the dams repeatedly, and most of the people moved away in 1868. It is part of the Pahvant Valley, a favorite rendezvous for the Pahvant Indians.

[348] Kate B. Carter, Heart Throbs of the West.

[349] Twila Van Leer, *Deseret News*, March 12, 1996.

[350] Andrew Jenson, Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, page 250.



Modern map of Millard County with towns of interest for this chapter bolded.

The Pahvants were already farming in their village on Corn Creek when the Mormons arrived, but Chief Kanosh was interested in the white man's methods of farming and approached the Mormons for instruction.[351] Kanosh's respect among the Mormons is illustrated by the following letter written February 1, 1853, by Samuel P. Hoyt to Daniel H. Wells. Hoyt was an original pioneer in Fillmore, in charge of building the new capitol building.

> Kanosh wanted our people to go down and settle with them, and his clan would all work for us. Kanosh appears to be a man of fine feelings, a noble mind of good judgment, and a long memory with the advantage of education capable of being a judge in Israel and a ruler of many people. He certainly has shown much wisdom in the whole affair.[352]

By 1853 California immigrants were regularly using the wagon road through Fillmore. The road also passed by Kanosh's settlement at Corn Creek 14 miles to the southwest, where the tribe bartered with the Mormons in Fillmore and the passing travelers. In early October, after eluding the hostilities of the Walker War in Utah County that was just getting underway, a company of Missourians bound for Los Angeles became wary of the Pahvants who approached them at Corn Creek to barter and tried to disarm them. When the Indians resisted, a scuffle erupted in which a white man was poked in the chest while wrestling an Indian over an arrow. The emigrant pulled out a revolver and shot the Indian dead before the company moved on. The victim turned out to be an elder named Toniff, the father of Kanosh's young war chief Moshoquop. The son demanded revenge and raised a group of 20 or 30 young renegade fighters from several of the Ute and Paiute bands. Bishop Call and Kanosh tried to mollify them by donating several beefs, but Moshoquop's war party of young braves set out looking for trouble.

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[351] Lyman, Edward Leo, Chief Kanosh: Champion of Peace and Forbearance, Journal of Mormon History. University of Illinois Press; Mormon History Association, Winter 2009.

[352] https://catalog.churchofjesuschrist.org/assets/00c0884a-10c2-4de9-968d-75250ebc1f5f/0/0/

About a week later, Captain John W. Gunnison, a West Point graduate who was an engineer and explorer, set up camp on Pioneer Creek, six miles north of Fillmore with an expedition of about a dozen men including an artist and cartographer, a botanist, a Mormon guide from Manti named William Potter, and a small escort of U.S. soldiers. He was making maps and scouting a route for a proposed future railway to California. As this was his second visit to the Pahvant Valley, he promptly visited Bishop Call, whom he had befriended on his earlier expedition. The bishop informed Gunnison of the recent trouble between the emigrants and the Indians in Corn Creek, but Captain Gunnison took little heed, since he felt he had already made friends of Kanosh and Moshoquop.

Moshoquop and his band of warriors happened to be in the area where Gunnison's expedition camped about 33 miles northwest of Fillmore and discovered them when they heard gunshots as the soldiers were hunting ducks and rabbits. The war party crept near their camp during the night, hiding in the willows, and attacked them at dawn as the soldiers were preparing breakfast. They killed seven of Gunnison's party including the captain himself, but four escaped to tell the tale. The site of the massacre is on the bank of the Sevier River about six miles west of present day Hinkley, where Fort Deseret was built 12 years later.

The event caused an uproar in Utah and across the nation. There were rumors in the East that the Mormons had been behind the crime. It may even have been a factor leading to General Johnston's "Utah War" in 1857 and conflated with the Mountain Meadows Massacre that year. The Pahvant warriors (whom Brigham Young described as adolescents) openly confessed the crime—it was a just eye for an eye retribution in their mind.

President Pierce sent an artillery colonel with three hundred men to guard against insurrection. Chief Kanosh was caught in the middle of the situation and brokered a political solution. He would not surrender Moshoquop or any of the other warriors, but he turned over one Pahvant as hostage for each of the slain surveyors minus one for Toniff. The seven included four elderly males, a blind man, a woman, and an intellectually disabled person. A trial was set up in Nephi where an all-Mormon jury dismissed the disabled person, acquitted three of the hostages, and found the other three guilty of manslaughter, which called for a three-year prison term, but they were allowed to escape.[353]

A formal treaty to end the Walker War was signed in May 1854 by Chiefs Kanosh and Walkara at Chicken Creek, near Nephi. The conflict had killed 19 white persons and many Indians. The treaty created federal farm reservations to teach the Indians agriculture, including one in Corn Creek. I have no specific details on Kanosh's farm, but it was probably similar to the one in Spanish Fork, although much smaller. The Spanish Fork reservation of 13,000 acres was on hunting grounds used by Peteetneet and his band long before the Mormons arrived. Governor Brigham Young ordered the people of Palmyra to build Chief Peteetneet a house and chose Joseph Ellison Beck, a pioneer living in Spanish Fork, to superintend the Indian farm. After Beck served a year in this role under Church supervision, the United States Government took over the farm. The treaty gave Indians titles to certain lands and promised to help the Indians with food. Church authorities called men from Provo, Springville, Spanish Fork, Salem, Payson, Benjamin, and Spring Lake to teach the Indians how to plow, built log huts, and built ditches and canals for irrigation.

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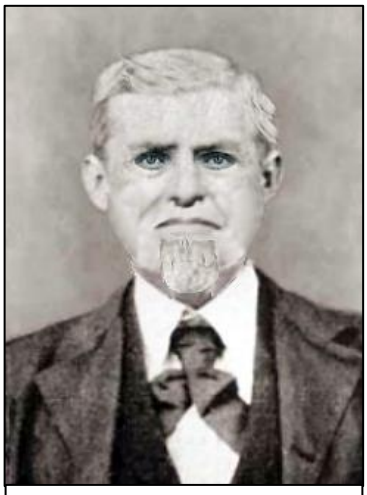
[353] Todd Shallat, Haunted in Desolation: The Murder of Captain John Gunnison Reconsidered, History Department, Boise State University, 2023.

In November 1854, Church officials called Thomas Washington Smith and John Whitlock Radford, the former president and clerk from the Shirtses Branch in Iowa, to leave Provo with their families to help develop the new town of Fillmore.[354] It was over a year later that the legislature arrived to open its fifth annual session on December 10, 1855. On January 16th Kanosh addressed the delegates. According to Wilford Woodruff's journal, Kanosh told them that he wanted to learn to farm like white people. The legislature met again in Fillmore for its sixth session in 1856, but on December 15th it passed a resolution to move the capitol back to Salt Lake City. The new state house became the Millard County courthouse.



Thomas Washington Smith

While there, Thomas Washington Smith built a saw mill and a grist mill with the help of John Radford. In 1857, Thomas married Nancy Matilda Ross, the sister of Thomas Ross, in Salt Lake and brought her and her daughter Roanna to Fillmore. Later that year, all the Smiths left Fillmore when Thomas was called to the Cotton Mission in Dixie.

In 1858 Kanosh became a Mormon. By all accounts, the chief was a committed Latter-day Saint who often spoke in sacrament meetings.

Rachel Leah trained as a midwife. She is center in the second row.

John Whitlock Radford served as an alderman in Fillmore in 1859 but was called in 1860 to help establish the nearby settlement at Deseret on the Sevier River. During the Black Hawk Indian War, he was hired in 1865 as superintendent in charge of building a fort there to protect the people from Indian raids. Severe flooding finally forced the abandonment of Deseret in 1868, and he moved with most of the pioneers there to Oak Creek to establish the new town of Oak City. In 1869 John married Miriam Elizabeth Sampson as a polygamist wife, but they were later divorced. In 1871 Nancy Jane, the daughter of John's first wife Rachel Leah, married Thomas Morgan and

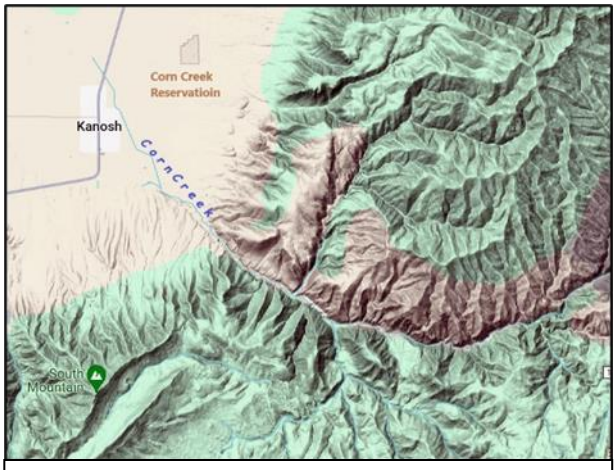
[354] You will recall that John Radford had married Rachel Leah, the daughter of Richard Smith. Thomas Washington Smith had married Mary Ann Ross, who died in Gibson County. Thomas came to Fillmore with his second wife, Sarah Ann Boren, whom he had married in Gibson and his third wife, Susan Reynolds, also of Gibson, whom he had married in Shirtses Branch. Sarah Ann had two children under ten, and Susan had five girls under five (two sets of twins). In 1855 John Radford married Polly Stevens as a plural wife in Fillmore. He had known Polly, who was born in Tennessee, in the Shirtses Branch. John Radford and Polly had four daughters, Mary Elizabeth, Martha Jane, Mallissa, and Estella. In 1863, Polly, Mary Elizabeth and Estella died. Rachel took the other two girls along with Polly's two children by her first marriage to raise with her own children. While living in Fillmore their last three children Granville, Daniel H. and Diana Rebecca were born. Granville died at the age of six months from chills and fever. In 1880 the Radford family in 1889 decided to relocate to Star Valley, Wyoming. On the 14 Dec 1889 John died and was buried near the present community of Etna. After two very hard years the rest of the family gave up and moved to Shelton, Idaho to live where in December of 1894 Rachel died.

moved to help establish Leamington. John and Rachel joined them there in 1873. In 1880 they were living in Kanosh.

In an interview with Thomas Kane[355] Kanosh revealed his difficult domestic situation. Through multiple wives Kanosh fathered eight children, all of whom died young. His first wife, Julia, became insane while pregnant and was killed while Kanosh was away by members of the tribe, who were trying to drive out her evil spirits by dragging her behind a horse. The chief also related serious issues with his other three wives, all of whom we will examine in their turn. Kane's wife Eliza wrote that during their interview Kanosh wore a white flannel shirt with a black border and brass buttons, an ordinary felt hat, and buckskin leggings and moccasins.

When the Black Hawk War broke out on April 10, 1865, Kanosh was one of the Ute chiefs who signed the failed peace agreement that Brigham Young and the Federal Indian Agent, Colonel O. H. Irish, brokered in June at the Spanish Fork Indian farm, which had been designed to nip the Black Hawk war in the bud. The treaty ended the Indian farm program in exchange for Utes' agreement to move to the Uintah reservation. White settlers took over the land in the Spanish Fork reserve, but because Kanosh and his band chose not to take part in the war, the only Utes to abstain, they were allowed to keep their farms at Corn Creek.[356]

While the Black Hawk War was still raging in Sanpete and Sevier Counties in the spring of 1867, and over a year before peace was made with Chief Tabby in Heber, Brigham Young asked the pioneers living in Petersburg (later Hatton, Utah)[357] to relocate about four miles south on Corn Creek near the farms of the Pahvant band to form a new town named Kanosh, where he hoped to provide trade for the Indian farm and water and supplies for travelers on the Mormon Road, the wagon road to Southern California. Within a year there were approximately one hundred Mormon pioneers and five hundred Native Americans living there. Brigham Young also sent Ira Hinkley to build Cove Fort twenty-one miles south of Kanosh as another way station.



The new town of Kanosh and the nearby reservation.

At the end of the previous chapter, it was mentioned that the extended Thomas Ross family moved from the Provo River Valley to Kanosh. This is how it came about.

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[355] We are again speaking of the Mormons' friend who had aided them in Washington D.C., Council Bluffs, and with Johnston's Army. Kane, his wife Elizabeth, and their two youngest sons spent the winter of 1872 in Utah, gathering information for a planned biography. Elizabeth later published a book of her letters and journal while in Utah.
[356] The grasshopper infestation of 1868 forced them to move to the reservation in the Uintah Basin, but many of them moved back, and they continue to occupy their farmland two miles northeast of Kanosh to this day.
[357] A group of Mormon settlers had founded Petersburg 1859, named after the founders Peter Robison and Peter Boyce. Hatton is about 3.6 miles north of Kanosh.

During peace negotiations in Mount Pleasant with Chief Black Hawk in June 1868, Chief Tabby of the Uintah Utes allegedly made the remark that although he had agreed to peace, "he was at least going to kill Joe Parker."[358] According to the DUP history of Thomas Ross: "Hearing that, Brigham Young recommended that the young men involved in the incident (involving Henry Dinwoodey's mule and the stolen cattle) leave the valley." One of them, Joseph Parker, recalled,

> After peace had been made with the Indians, one young fellow thought he was pretty smart and he up and told the Indians who it was (that had attacked the Indians and taken back Thomas Hundley's cattle.) Well, it wasn't long until it was noised around (and) the Indians said, "If peace is made, we will kill Joe Parker and Ike Cummings anyhow."[359] We decided to move away from Heber City, so Daddy (Thomas) Ross, Andrew Ross, Sidney Carter, Bill Cummings and myself took our families and went to Kanosh, Millard County.[360]

In the winter of 1869 as the Ross family was preparing to leave Center Creek in Wasatch County, Chief Kanosh took another wife, a Native American named Tanequickeup, who had been raised by a Mormon family in Payson. George Washington Hancock[361] and his wife Amy took the girl into their family in 1860 when she was nine years old in trade for flour and a blanket, bartering with an Indian who had asked for four horses. The Indian, who claimed to be her uncle, told Hancock that both of her parents were dead and there was no one to look after her. The Hancocks named her Mary. According to her foster siblings, she was educated, baptized, had temple work done for her, and was a beautiful girl, but she proved to be difficult and proud, and for years would have nothing to do with other Indians. Nonetheless, at about age 20, Mary changed her mind and married chief Kanosh. When Kanosh took Mary home he had two other wives named Anne Eahwids and Betsykin, who according to the story, lived in lodges made of hides and poles, but Mary persuaded Kanosh to build her a white woman's cabin with real doors and windows. It had six chairs, a high-post bedstead, and plates and dishes.

The move of the Ross family Kanosh did not take place until early spring after the harvest and winter were over. In addition to keeping the peace in Heber, Brigham Young may have had another reason to recommend their move--to strengthen the budding biracial community that he had established in Kanosh. A third motivation, and perhaps the primary one, was given by Andrew Ross' brother-in-law William Cummings.

> The cattle industry seemed to call for expansion of range, therefore, with the three Ross brothers, Andrew, Tom and Bob, they decided to move to a place farther south. This place was known as Corn Creek. A few families were already settled there on account of unlimited range, they were not slow to recognize it.

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[358] Ella P. Ogden, Thomas Ross biography in *Ancestry*.

[359] This is interesting, since it was Ike's older brother William who went with the Ross Family to Kanosh.

[360] Stories of Joseph Faulkner Parker, *FamilySearch* memories, KWCV-6TH, p. 13.

[361] George Hancock's family were among the first to join the Mormon Church in the fall of 1830. His father was Solomon Hancock, who is mentioned in D&C 52:27. George and his older brother Charles joined the Mormon Battalion. His brother Charles was an original settler of Payson and the mayor. George moved to Payson in 1856 when he was 30 years old. He was a talented businessman who started a store, a tannery, a shoe and harness factory, a lumber yard, and a butcher shop. He also built a grist mill, and later, a creamery and canning establishment. Hancock organized the fruit industry in Payson that continues to this day including trees from peach stones brought from Nauvoo, apples, Pottawattamie plums, raspberries, and currants.

Thomas Ross and Rachel's branch records from Provo arrived at the Kanosh Branch[362] in April 1869. Branch records would have been carried by hand in those days, which suggests that April is when the family arrived. It is hard to say why the records were sent from Provo and not Center Creek. One biographer wrote that Thomas kept his house in Provo throughout his stay in Center Creek, but Albert McMullin wrote, "In the spring of 1869 my wife's folks, who were then living in Center Creek all moved south to Kanosh, Millard Co."

The group consisted of the families of Thomas Ross, Andrew Ross, Sidney Rigdon Carter, Joseph F. Parker, and William Cummings, all linked through marriage. The only living child of Thomas Ross and his two wives not in the caravan was Nancy, who would come later with her new husband, Albert McMullin. The families were packed into wagons, the cattle rounded up, and with four Indian scouts they drove the cattle and wagons 150 miles to Kanosh, probably through Utah County, since the Black Hawk War was still simmering in Sanpete and Sevier Counties. The drive lasted a month and included thirty-five family members of which two were pregnant women. There were twelve adults and twenty-three children, a significant contribution to the population of the new town.

On about May 19, 1869, shortly after the Ross family arrived in Kanosh, Chief Kanosh left for Salt Lake City. The next day his new wife Mary disappeared. When he returned he launched a massive hunt that involved both the Pahvants and the Mormons, and Mary's decomposing body was discovered on June 25th about three miles from the Indian camp. Her throat had been cut. After a "grand pow-wow in the Indian Camp…another squaw, a member of his family, acknowledged that she was the murderer and that out of spite and jealousy she committed the horrible deed."[363]

By this time the town of Kanosh was already dotted with houses built of logs and adobe, laid out according to Brigham Young's plan. The families had to clear sagebrush before planting crops. According to Robert Ross, who was sixteen when they arrived, "By helping one another they soon had new log houses built. Logs were the most practical building materials available at this time and locality." Sidney Carter opened the first blacksmith shop in town. All the families raised beef and dairy cattle in the mountains east of Kanosh up Corn Creek Canyon.

> The mountain range south of Kanosh, Millard County, by way of Corn Creek Canyon provides a large water shed with small creek tributaries leading into the main canyon. Because of the small rolling hills within the mountains, the area is readily accessible to ranch life. Many beautiful meadows were found in the hills and because of the abundance of feed these mountain ranges were soon stocked with cattle, sheep and horses. As a means of livelihood some of the early settlers spent the summer months ranching in these mountains…. Among the…ranches in this vicinity was the Ross Ranch on Second Creek."[364]

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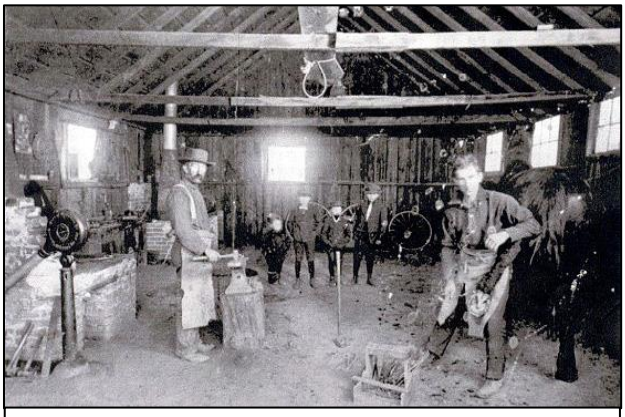
[362] The town of Kanosh was organized as a ward of the Fillmore Stake in 1877.

[363] *Deseret Evening News*, July 30, 1869, p.3. There are various versions of this story. Most of them identify Kanosh's wife Betsykin as the murderer and describe various ways in which she was punished. One is that Kanosh turned her loose in the mountains with only a jug of water and she was never seen again. George Hancock's daughter Betsy wrote that the Indians strangled her with a rope. Another story is that the tribal council had her buried alive. However, Betsykin appears as "Bretsken" in Kanosh's household in the 1870 census. Either the killer was a different squaw or Betsykin literally got away with murder.

[364] Kate Carter, Treasures of Pioneer History, Vol.6, p.475.

The Black Hawk war continued during this period. People in Sanpete and Sevier returned to their homes in the spring of 1868 with high hopes, but they were soon driven out and had to wait another year. In September 1869 Black Hawk surrendered in Fillmore and died of tuberculosis on September 26, 1870. A new territorial governor named George Lemuel Woods disbanded the Nauvoo Legion in 1871, and federal troops tried to keep the peace. The last white casualty was in September 1872, the year that the army forcibly moved the remaining Utes to the Uintah reservation. After 1872 the Mormons in Utah filled the remaining valleys with settlements without fear of attack, but the war and their move to the reservation were a disaster for the Utes, who suffered from intratribal rivalries and broken promises by the federal government. However, carrying supplies to the reservation proved to be a boon to Albert McMullin as we will discover in the next chapter.



Sidney Carter at the anvil in his shop. The other man may be David Thomas.

The United States census was counted in Kanosh on July 2, 1870.[365] The very first family listed was Sidney Carter, blacksmith, with his younger wife Leah and five kids. Next door was another blacksmith named David Thomas, likely a partner to Sidney. These households were separated from the rest of the Ross family. Andrew Ross and his wife Sarah Ann Smith lived eighteen houses away from the Carters, lodging a 21-year-old farm worker in their home named Edwin Austin. After another large gap came the rest of the Ross family. The two wives of Thomas Ross lived next door to each other. Rachel appeared to be babysitting Margaret's six month old baby, John Alma. Rachel's daughter Mary Elizabeth and her husband Joseph Faulkner Parker and their three young children were next door to Margaret. The William Cummings family came next, followed by Sidney Carter's older wife, Peggy Ann Carter.[366] In all, there were 530 people listed in the census, most of them farmers.

Interestingly, the census listed a Zions Co-op store,[367] offering dry goods and groceries as the last house. It measured 40 x 60 feet with a door and two windows fronting east, four windows on each side, and a

[365] The census for the Pahvant Utes in Corn Creek was recorded three days later. Kanosh was listed first. His age was given as 46, the only existing documentation of his birth year and birth place in Utah. He was living with his two remaining wives—Anne and Bretsken--and no children. Only 83 people were counted in the town, many fewer than the estimated 500 in 1853, suggesting that many may have relocated to the reservation in the Uintah Basin with the rest of the Utes. None of the men were listed as farmers—all were either hunters or warriors. The only man credited with real estate or personal assets was the chief, who owned $1,000 in real estate and $4,500 in his personal estate. By comparison, Thomas Ross, the wealthiest man in Kanosh, had $1,200 in real estate and $1,950 in personal estate, probably mainly his cattle.

[366] Under the name Margaret Ann, Peggy Ann also appears on a previous page with a slight alteration of the names and ages of her children. This is interesting in two ways: they are living quite a distance from Sidney, and why do they appear twice in different houses?

[367] Zions Cooperative Mercantile Institution was organized by Brigham Young in 1868. The first ZCMI store in Salt Lake City was opened on March 1, 1869, in the Eagle Emporium. A ZCMI in Provo had preceded it, having opened in December 1868, one of many local independent retail stores organized by wards and communities throughout the territory. Eighty-one stores were operating in pioneer settlements by General Conference in April 1869 and 150

raised platform with pulpit in the west end. All religious and public activities were held there.[368] Robert Ross recalled that his family "…Traded their dairy products for clothing, groceries and other necessities. This enabled them to have another source of income and a diversified way of living." Joseph Smith Black was vice-president of the Kanosh co-op and Bishop Culbert King was the president. It more or less fell apart in the fall of 1874.[369]

The fall of 1870 is when Albert and Nancy McMullin arrived in Kanosh to visit Nancy's family. They moved in with her parents initially, and later built a modest house of their own on Andrew's property outside of town, where they lived for almost three years.

Margaret Ross's oldest daughter Polly Ann wrote that when she was 12 (summer of 1871) she and her eight-year-old brother George moved onto the mountain east of Kanosh where the family's herds were kept during the summer. The children's job was to milk cows, produce cheese, and churn butter. In Polly Ann's free time, she sewed quilt blocks and carpet rags. They lived in a one room house with a dirt floor. Their father Thomas visited them occasionally and took the cheese home to be cured. The children went back and forth on two horses: a pack horse for their belongings and another for them. Their mother stayed in Kanosh with two younger children and had another baby the following April. The ranch in the mountains was about five miles up Corn Creek, and the Joseph Parker family had a cabin next to them. Joseph's daughter Hulda was eight and also made butter and cheese.

Later, Thomas Ross, Joseph F. Parker, and Andrew Ross moved their herds of cattle still farther into the mountains along Second Creek, a tributary of Corn Creek that ran along the east side of Watts Mountain and again built log cabins, corrals, and sheds to use in the summer months. These houses were built of logs, one long room with two windows and one door facing east. They were built close together with just an alley between them and a small milk house at the rear. A short distance in front of the houses was a beautiful spring from which they all got water. Joseph Parker freighted butter, cheese, and other products to Pioche, Nevada.

> There the families built small houses with a common milk house at the rear. They got their water from a spring in front of the houses. The home consisted of two large rooms and a cellar. The rooms were carpeted with nice fresh straw underneath; walls were whitewashed with lime to make them clean and white; trundle beds were made of corded rope and put on rollers so they could be rolled under the large beds. The large room was used as living room and bedroom; the smaller one was a kitchen and dining room. I remember how we would gather around the big rock fireplace, the big pine logs giving out their warmth and light and our parents reading aloud the scriptures to us.[370]

Bill Cummings was also a rancher and ran similar operations on the mountain which were probably located near the Ross family. The first tributary of Second Creek is called Cummings Creek to this day. The Ross family had a large tract of land on top of the mountain between Millard and Sevier Counties where they ran cattle.

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in Utah, Idaho, and Arizona by 1873. (Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Institution, The Rise and Demise of the Great Retail Experiment, Jeffrey Paul Thompson).

[368] Bauldwin Harvey Watts memories KWZ4-8KN.

[369] Biography of Joseph Smith Black KWCK-KHH, memories, *FamilySearch.*

[370] Stories of Joseph Faulkner Parker KWCV-6TH.

All of the extended Ross families continued having children while in Kanosh, too many to mention all of them here.

Bill Cummings at his cabin

Although polygamy flourished without interference at this time in the outlying settlements it was an issue in Salt Lake City. Brigham Young was arrested again on October 2, 1871, by the U.S. Marshal, this time for "lascivious and unlawful cohabitation." During the next three days, Daniel H. Wells, George Q. Cannon, and Henry W. Lawrence were also arrested. Brigham went to court on the ninth, paid $5,000 in bail, and fled to St. George for the winter. The judge ordered him back for trial on December 4th, and Brigham arrived December 26th. He was sentenced to house arrest but released in April on a writ of habeas corpus by Elias Smith, who was a probate judge, President of the High Priest quorum in Salt Lake City, and a first cousin to Joseph Smith.

Nancy and Albert's first child, Albert Orlando McMullin was born in Kanosh on October 15, 1871.[371]

Albert O. McMullin

Thomas W. and Margaret Ann

Nancy's younger brother Thomas William Ross married Margaret Ann Harvey in the Endowment House in Salt Lake City on November 6th, having evidently carried on a successful courtship from 150 miles apart after moving to Kanosh. They had grown up together, first as playmates, and then as lovers. Her father had been their branch president in Center Creek, and both families had lived in the fort in Heber City during the Black Hawk War and returned to Center Creek. The Harveys had homesteaded a quarter section on Center Creek road one mile east of the church house.

After 14 years in the Cotton Mission, Thomas Washington Smith was called in December by Erastus Snow to go move from Washington to help settle Pahreah. He moved there, taking his cattle and his widowed father James A. Smith with him. Later Thomas served in Pahreah as Bishop beginning November 1877 and ending 1886.

Presumably right after Bert was born, Albert McMullin bought out his partnership with Andrew Ross in exchange for his saddle horse, fixed up a team of two yoke of oxen and went to Meadow Valley, (Nevada)

[371] His friends called him Bert and so will I from here on to avoid confusion with his father, Albert.

a distance of 150 miles[372] with a load of rock salt for the quartz mills. He described it as "a long, hard journey, with continuous storms and very bad roads. I worked there that winter and did well in hauling cord wood."[373] From the beginning there were many members of the Church working there as miners, smelters, and in other industries. They lived in the Panaca Ward in Meadow Valley, 13 miles away. Nancy stayed with her babies in the Kanosh cabin near her parents.

Albert McMullin wrote that in the spring of 1872, "(He) traded the oxen for a team of mules and hauled freight from Salt Lake to Pioche, a distance of 300 miles." The Deseret Telegraph Company had opened a line to Pioche four months earlier, and it had become a prosperous mining center. The freight route to Nevada was important to all of the Ross family in Kanosh. That is where they sold their dairy products for cash, which was still scarce in the Utah Territory. That year Nancy's 19-year-old brother Robert with his brothers and friends also hauled freight from Pioche, Nevada and Cisco, Utah to Provo and Lehi, consisting mostly of bullion from the mines and mills there, and on their return trip they hauled groceries, clothing, furniture, and machinery home. It is unclear whether they traveled with Albert McMullin.

Albert and Nancy left Kanosh for good in 1873 and moved back to Heber, but Albert did not give up freighting, which had become a life-long profession.

The location of Kanosh on the California trail made it possible to have friends and family members visit from southern Utah, especially on their trips back and forth for General Conference. On June 15, 1873, Rachel's father James A. Smith gave a father's blessing to his son Thomas Washington in Kanosh even though their home in Pahreah was remote and 130 miles away.[374]

Andrew Ross owned a share in the first molasses mill in Kanosh[375] with Lyman Leavitt[376] and Ammon Rappleye.[377] Here is a description of the molasses mill from Ammon's biography.

> He raised the cane and stripped it and hauled it to the mill…(which) consisted of two barrel-shaped presses and a long pole across the top called a beam. A horse was hooked to the end of

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[372] Another version gives 20 miles, probably assuming Meadow, Utah. This is probably incorrect, since Meadow, Utah is only six miles from Kanosh and not a "long, hard journey."

[373] Meadow Valley is near Pioche, Nevada. Pioche was settled in 1864 with the opening of a silver mine, abandoned due to Indian raids, and re-opened in 1869. It was known as a very violent place, accounting for 60% of all Nevada's homicides that year. Local yore says that 72 men were killed in gunfights before the first natural death occurred in the camp. (Wikipedia).

[374] James A. Smith LZBQ-7BH memories.

[375] Treasures of Pioneer History p. 414.

[376] Lyman Leavitt had arrived at Kanosh August 18, 1873, and built a cabin and a year later a brick house and ranch eight miles east of town. He had been chased out of Muddy River by Indian troubles where he had been called to settle and where he served as sheriff of Rio Virgin County. In Kanosh he served as 2nd Counselor to Bishop Culbert King and was sent on a mission to Illinois, his former home, around 1876. He was called on a mission to settle Mesa, Arizona around 1883 and moved there with one wife, leaving the other in Kanosh, probably hoping to avoid an arrest for unlawful cohabitation.

[377] Ammon Rappleye was born in Hancock and moved to Corn Creek in 1866 where he married an 18-year-old Danish immigrant who had crossed in a handcart in 1856. They moved to Kanosh around 1869. In 1870 he took charge of the Kanosh co-op herd of cattle on a ranch 35 miles west of Kanosh but returned in 1873 to put his daughter in school, and he ran the freight to and from the main Co-op in Salt Lake City, a distance of 165 miles, covering about 30 miles per day.

> the beam, and as he went around and around, it pressed the juice out of the cane. The juice was poured into a…vat and boiled down to molasses.

Other operators of the mill were James Day, a 20-year-old bachelor from South Africa, Will Hunter,[378] William Prows,[379] Abinadi Abraham, Dr. Bradbury, Harvey Watts, and James Paxton.[380]

Dimick Huntington ordained Chief Kanosh an Elder, and Kanosh was endowed May 11, 1874. Huntington wrote to Brigham Young on August 11th that Kanosh's lodge had burned down ten days earlier, and he was asking for help. The chief had lost his gun in the fire and also the clothing and bedding for all of his family.

On November 9, 1874, John D. Lee was arrested at his hiding place in Panguitch to stand trial for the Mountain Meadows Massacre. The following March Brigham Young was confined in the Utah penitentiary for 24 hours for contempt of court in his alimony case with Ann Eliza Young. There were several polygamy arrests and trials the next month.

Bishop Culbert King baptized 85 Indians of Kanosh's band in June of 1875. Judging from the 1870 census, that must have been just about everyone living in the reservation at Corn Creek. Reportedly, more than 2,000 Indians had been baptized since 1851.

President U. S. Grant visited Brigham Young at Ogden on October 4, 1875, having come to confer with his federal appointees, who were resisting polygamy. President Grant, his wife Julia, and his appointed Governor of Utah, George W. Emery, traveled with Brigham Young in a private train car from Ogden to Salt Lake City, where the route from the station to Grant's hotel was lined with children singing and throwing flowers. Julia Grant, who said she admired the Mormons although she objected to the practice of polygamy, offered a prayer for the Mormons when she and her husband visited the tabernacle. On the way back to Ogden, Grant instructed Governor Emery not to curry favor with the Mormons as his predecessor had, but rather to align himself with the Gentile community. However, the governor eventually took a middle road, siding with neither faction. In his annual message to Congress two months after his return, Grant spoke of the "anomalous, not to say scandalous, condition of affairs existing in the Territory of Utah."[381]

At the end of October Brigham Young was again arrested for contempt of court but was discharged November 18th. President Grant removed Judge McKean after that action, partly owing to political pressure, but possibly also as a result of the positive personal interaction he had with the Prophet on his visit. Grant continued to oppose polygamy but backed off during the rest of his administration. The final push by the federal government to abolish polygamy came under President Grover Cleveland a decade later after Grant died of throat cancer. Ironically, it was Cleveland who later pardoned polygamists in 1894 after the Manifesto, restoring their property and civil rights.

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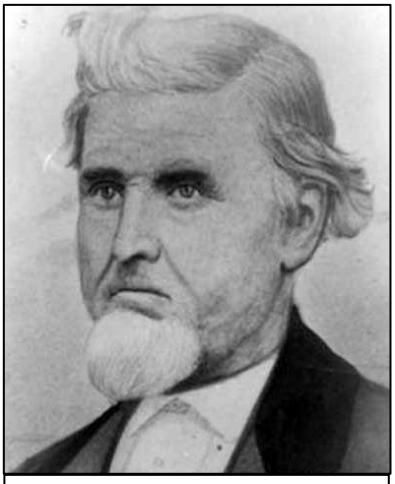
[378] William Davidson Hunter of Scotland first settled in Petersburg from where he moved Kanosh. He is said to have built the first store in Kanosh (probably the Co-op), owned an organ and sang.

[379] He had been a Mormon Battalion member, held dances in the basement of his 25 x 50 foot cabin, was a cooper and a friend to the Indians.

[380] An early settler of Kanosh in 1867 where he was married 1869. He had driven out of Panguitch by Indians and ended up in Toquerville before moving to Kanosh.

[381] Thomas G. Alexander, A Conflict of Perceptions: Ulysses S. Grant and the Mormons, "Dispatches from Grant" Newsletters, Issue 4, July 1971.

James A. Smith died in Pahreah, Kane County on December 20, 1875, at the age of 88. His son Thomas Washington Smith died in Pahreah in 1892, much-loved by all who knew him.[382]



Thomas Washington Smith

In May 1876 Kanosh was baptized in the baptismal font of the Endowment House as a proxy for his deceased father Mussumpegipe, his uncle Tobasa, and his five deceased sons. A Native American woman named Sally served as proxy for Kanosh's mother Pahsequich. Brigham Young is said to have promised years earlier that he would arrange a marriage for Kanosh, and the Chief had his eye on Sally, whose Indian name was Kahpeputz. She had been bought by Charley Decker[383] for a rifle and a pony at the age of twenty[384] from Indians who had kidnapped her in a raid of a rival tribe. Sally worked in Brigham Young's household for three decades as a housekeeper for his wife Clara Decker Young, a sister to Charley Decker, who was near Sally's age.[385] Kanosh offered six horses in exchange for Sally. When he raised his bid to nine horses Brigham said that she must decide for herself, and the answer must have been no, since Kanosh returned home empty handed.

On March 23, 1877, John D. Lee was executed at Mountain Meadows for his part in the massacre.

Two weeks later the Saint George Temple was dedicated during General Conference, which had been moved for the occasion from Salt Lake City to Saint George. It was the long awaited only operating temple in the Church. The whole Ross family must have been in St. George for the dedication, for on April 10th, Lydia Lucinda Carter, oldest daughter of Sidney and Leah was married to James Wells in the new temple.

The Manti temple site was dedicated April 25th by Brigham Young on his way home from St. George, and the temple site in Logan was dedicated May 18th.

Stories differ on how it came to be, but Sally eventually married Kanosh on June 8, 1877. Sally was 50 and Kanosh was 53 years old. A sarcastic article published June 17th in the *Salt Lake Tribune* announced the marriage, claiming falsely that Kanosh had been an accomplice in the Mountain Meadows Massacre and that the wedding had been arranged as compensation.[386]

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[382] His grandson Elias Smith wrote that Thomas was a good friend to the Indians. He always told them if they wanted any of his cattle to ask, but not to steal them. He ran his sawmill, which produced the lumber for Tropic, up to the time of his death at age 77. When he died, Indians came until the canyon was full, mourning for Tommy, as his friends called him. He married four times and three of them survived him. They had 21 children and adopted eight more.

[383] Decker had married Brigham Young's daughter Vilate at Winter Quarters in 1848 and two his sisters, Lucy Ann and 14-year-old Clara, had married Brigham Young in Nauvoo.

[384] Some accounts give Sally's age at the time as seven, but her age in the 1860 census in Brigham Young's household was given as 32, so she was about 20.

[385] Clara was 19 years old and childless when Sally was given to her as a housekeeper, but by this time Clara had five children ages 16-27.

[386] The Native Americans who were involved were the Paiutes, not the Pahvant Ute band.

> Like John D. Lee, (Kanosh) was not only cajoled, but rewarded. Brigham put breeches upon the chief, presented him with a plug hat, named the town of Kanosh in honor of the red-handed savage, administered the holy rites of the Endowments to him, and gave him a concubine, marrying her to him according to the heathen ceremony of the Mormon Church. This redskin has been supported by the Church for many years and came to the center stake of Zion on his occasion for the purpose of taking to his wigwam another concubine, the happy polygamous bride being BRIGHAM'S DAUGHTER SALLY (sic).[387]

The article claimed that "this fair maiden had always had a lively interest in Kanosh," but she did not want to go to his wigwam and would stay "in her Pa's little family."

Chief Kanosh

But Kanosh did take Sally home. When their carriage reached Fillmore a crowd of settlers greeted them with great pomp and ceremony. She wore a beautiful dress, scarf, and hat, and the chief was dressed in a black suit and stovepipe hat. At Corn Creek they moved into a log cabin that had been donated by Culbert King, the bishop at Kanosh. They regularly rode in a buggy to Kanosh to attend Mormon Church meetings.

Sally Kahpeputz Young

Kanosh and Sally had been in Corn Creek less than a month when Brigham Young died in Salt Lake City at the age of 76 of a ruptured appendix.

The second son of Thomas Ross, Thomas William Ross, was probably the first of the extended family to make the move east across the mountain to Joseph. Since fetching his childhood girlfriend Margaret Ann Harvey from Center Creek to join the family in Kanosh, Thomas William had taken over the brunt of his father's cattle business, which made him an expert in the surrounding area. Their first three children had been born in Kanosh, but Harvey, their second boy was born April 6, 1878, in Joseph, where Thomas William was homesteading a farm on the east bank of the Sevier River. Sidney Carter and his favorite wife Leah had probably moved there too since their daughter Geneva was born that year in Joseph on August 6th. Thomas William Ross and his family were back in Kanosh by winter, evidently splitting time between the two locations, but Leah and her children likely remained in Joseph, where Sidney set up a second blacksmith shop. From Sidney Rigdon Carter Life Sketch:

> They had run cattle on the mountains between Kanosh and Joseph and were familiar with the Joseph area. I am sure they could see the benefits of having the Sevier River close by. There was no river for irrigation on the Kanosh side of the mountains. They had to depend on stream flow and that had been erratic. They hoped the move to Joseph would improve their situation.

[387] *The Salt Lake Tribune*, June 12, 1877, p. 4.

Over the next two years, all of the Ross family moved east across the mountain to Sevier County. Of the Heber group, only Bill Cummings remained in Kanosh.

Joseph Angell Young

Sevier County was organized in January 1865 by the Utah Legislature. The town of Joseph, then called Jericho, had first been settled in 1864 by four families, but the Black Hawk War made it too dangerous to live there and the original settlers soon left and didn't return until after the peace treaty with the Utes.[388] Jericho was resettled in 1871 by a group that actually settled in "the Cove," four miles from Jericho at the mouth of Clear Creek Canyon. Orson Hyde, who was living in Spring City and in charge of all the branches in that area, called a priesthood meeting in Richfield May 17, 1872, presented Joseph Angell Young, one of Brigham's sons, as "President of the settlements of Sevier." On May 24, 1874, a general priesthood meeting attended by the apostles Orson Pratt and John Taylor was held in which a stake was created with Joseph A. Young President with Alonzo Farnsworth and Elias Johnson of Joseph on the High Council.[389] In September 1872, the townsite was organized and renamed Joseph City after the new stake president. The streets were laid out, and farms of forty acres were distributed to the families by lot. Unmarried boys over 16 received 20 acres.

Billy Parker[390] reminisced that when he was 14, he helped to drive the family's herd of cattle from the mountains east of Kanosh back to Wasatch County[391] for better grazing land, since the land above Corn Creek had been overgrazed. This was one year before the rest of the Ross families moved to Joseph. The Sevier River provided vastly more water for irrigation than what was available in Kanosh.[392]

Sarah Ann, the 40-year-old wife of Andrew Ross, known to all the Ross grandchildren as "Aunt Sack" died in Kanosh on New Years Day of "dropsy."[393] By this time, Thomas William Ross and his family were back in Kanosh. In her memoir, his daughter Lizzie, who was only four years old at the time, remembered her grief at the loss of Aunt Sack. Because Uncle Andrew had produced no children with any of his wives, he and Sarah doted on the Ross grandchildren.

Five days after Aunt Sack's death the U. S. Supreme Court upheld the anti-bigamy law of 1862, which revived the legal issues facing Mormon polygamists. By spring there were many polygamy trials and sentences going on in Salt Lake City, although the pressures on polygamists in the outlying areas of the state were just beginning.

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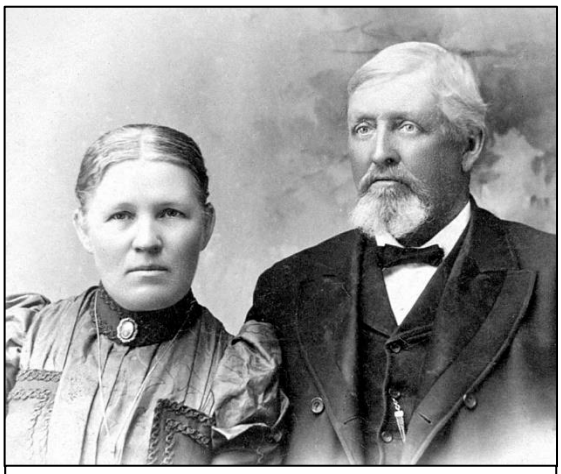
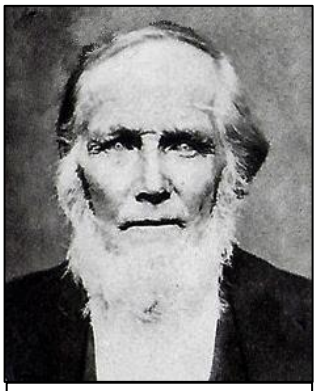
[388] Memories of Sevier Stake, Diamond Jubilee Memorial Volume, p. 15.
[389] Joseph Angell Young was an ordained Apostle, but not a member of the Quorum of the Twelve. He died unexpectedly in Manti on August 5, 1875, while working on plan specifications for the temple.
[390] Joseph William Parker was Thomas Ross' grandson through Mary Elizabeth, born November 19, 1864.
[391] The shortest route for driving cattle to Wasatch County from their grazing area east of Kanosh would have been through Sevier and Sanpete Counties.
[392] Stories of Joseph William Parker, KWCG-82V *FamilySearch*.
[393] Dropsy is an obsolete term for severe edema, the accumulation of fluid in the legs and lungs, usually due to heart, kidney, or liver disease.

On May 25, 1879, Andrew Ross married Catherine Elnora Anderson (remembered by the nieces and nephews as "Aunt Nora,") who had immigrated as a five-year-old from Denmark. Her father ran a farm two miles south of the town of Meadow and four miles north of Kanosh, where her older brother and his wife lived. Catherine's father made molasses and ran freight to Pioche, so the families may have been in that business together. She had attended school from age 12 in Kanosh and was 22 when she married Andrew. The marriage date and place suggest that their move to Joseph took place in June or later. Lizzie wrote that the marriage seemed too soon after Aunt Sack's death, but Andrew grieved so much, that mutual friends lined them up to help him get over it.



Nora and Andrew

Late in Robert F. Ross' life he said in an interview with Revo M. Young, "There were no roads through the canyons, (Clear Creek Divide and Sevier Canyon). We traveled from Kanosh through Corn Creek Canyon. People traveled in wagons. There were few buggies or buckboards." A road had been proposed over the pass between Sevier County and the settlements west of the mountains seven years earlier by a priesthood group in Richfield. It was built by fifty men from various communities, and it opened for traffic in 1873 with a toll gate charging 25 cents per wagon.[394]



Thomas Ross

In the summer of 1879 Thomas Ross moved his younger wife Margaret and her young children to Sevier County, leaving Rachel in Kanosh for a time. Perhaps the move was partly inspired by polygamy concerns, but he had decided that the farmland there was better, and more summer range was available on the east side of the Pahvant Mountains.

Thomas settled Margaret and her children at a place called Cove, named for its position at the mouth of Clear Creek. Now called Sevier, it is a tiny cluster of cabins at the bottom of Clear Creek Canyon about four miles southwest of Joseph. It is a peaceful place filled with fruit trees and cottonwoods, now nestled in the intersection of I-70 and Highway 89. Margaret brought four of her children. Her

The home of a neighbor, Joseph Levi, in Cove 1879

[394] Warnock, Through the Years, Sevier County Centennial History p. 202. The first time the Mormons traversed this canyon was in 1849 by Parley P. Pratt with twelve ox-drawn wagons and 38 men on horses and mules, having come through the valley up the Sevier River. Having driven both routes, I believe that the Ross families probably traveled up Corn Creek to their cattle grazing areas and then from there to Clear Creek Canyon through the current Fremont Indian State park following Clear Creek to where it joins the Sevier River. This would have been 35 miles of familiar territory compared to the 50 miles over the present route of I-70 and I-15.

oldest daughter Polly Ann was married and living in Provo.[395] Two of Margaret's next four children had died in childhood, leaving her with 19-year-old Lewis, 13 year-old-Lydia, Daniel 10, Maria eight, and Matilda six. The house in Cove had two large rooms. It was set back away from the road and large shade trees were by the fence. There were fruit trees and a good garden there also. Margaret always had a cow to supply her milk and butter needs. Later they had bees to supply them with honey.

Andrew Ross and his new wife Nora probably moved to Joseph in the summer of 1879 and filed for a homestead a couple miles north of town. Sidney Rigdon Carter brought his other wife, Peggy Ann, to Joseph that year as well. All of the families but Thomas settled initially in the town of Joseph and claimed land for farming out of town.

Thomas William Ross and Margaret Ann moved their young family permanently to Joseph in the spring of 1880 while the snow was still on the ground. Their daughter Lizzie, who was four at the time recalled:

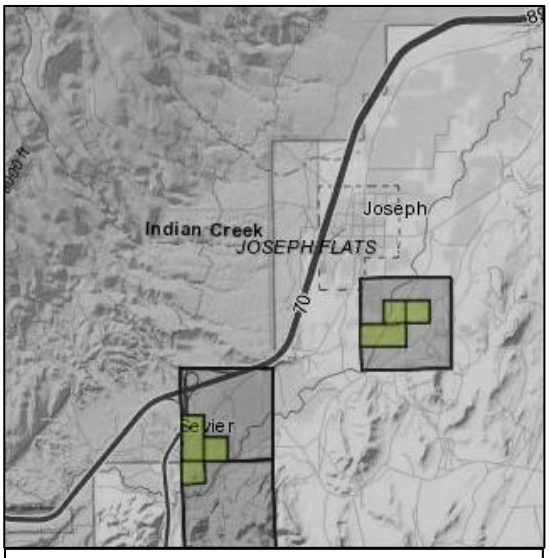
> There were two wagon loads with the family and household goods. Before reaching camp the first night they ran into a snowdrift on the dugway and the wagon that we were in tipped over and tipped most of us out into the snow, all except mother and the baby (Mary Evaline "Eva" who was five months old). Mother was able to hold the load up sufficiently to keep the baby in her arms from being crushed until the men could come to their rescue. Brother Hopkins carried Eva until they got to the camp house. Uncle Robert's (Robert Francis Ross) house was about two miles down the river from Thomas Jr.'s house in Joseph. They went 2½ miles from the town to attend school. Granddaddy and Granny Ross were in town during those first years.

Robert Francis Ross

Florence Riddle wrote of her grandmother Margaret's home in Joseph:

> I recall…(that) it was a comfortable four room house. The furniture wasn't too elaborate, but it was nice for the times. In her bedroom was the high, four poster bed with a soft, fluffy feather tick. It was always made up so white and pretty with large pillows covered with shams for the daytime attractiveness. A little round stand was beside the bed with a pretty coal oil lamp on it. A homemade rag carpet pulled tight over new straw, covered the floor. Small, braided rugs were placed here and there…. In her combined dining room and kitchen was a small square table and chairs with raw-hide bottoms. And a dear little rocking chair that had rocked all her babies. This part of the floor was covered with carpet. Where the cook stove, cupboard and wash stand was, there was bare floor, later covered with linoleum. Her pet cat always was good company for her.

[395] Polly Ann and her husband Culbert Levi King, the son of the bishop in Kanosh, later moved with the King clan to Coyote, later named Antimony, where Culbert served as bishop. Coyote was named by a party of 22 men after they caught several coyote pups when they came to the area in 1873 to make peace with the Fish Lake band of Indians. The first settler came in 1878. The name was changed to Antimony in 1921 after the mineral mined in Coyote Canyon.



Thomas Ross homestead in Cove and Thomas W. Ross in Joseph

When the census was taken in Kanosh on June 6, 1880, Thomas and his first wife Rachel appeared together, but Thomas also appeared a week later with Margaret and her children in Cove. He was spending time with both wives. It is not certain when he moved Rachel to Joseph. One family history says it was "within a couple of years." There were sixty households in Cove and Joseph that year, 370 people of whom 48 were members of the extended Ross family.

On September 11, 1880, an exhibition of electric lighting was given in Salt Lake City in front of ZCMI, less than a year after the light bulb was patented by Thomas Edison. The next month John Taylor was named President of the Church after a gap in leadership of three years.

The Ross family's cattle ranching operations in the Pahvant mountains between Kanosh and Joseph continued, but it seems likely that there was a new location at the large meadow by Three Creeks Reservoir, which is about eight miles closer to Clear Creek.

> On the mountain above Joseph City, Thomas, Joseph F. Parker and James A. Ross built ranch houses where the livestock and horses were kept during the summer. To the north of the cabins, a corral was enclosed by a high aspen pole fence. During the summer months, most of the family worked on the mountain ranch; herding cattle, milking cows, making butter and cheese and taken into the surrounding towns to sell. Some of the butter was covered with salt and stored in cellars for the winter…. More spacious family homes were built in Joseph City, where gardens and fruit trees were planted.[396]

The passage of the Edmunds Act in 1882 made polygamy a felony and disqualified polygamists from public office, which led to the denial of George Q. Cannon's seat in Congress. Because the Act was unsuccessful in controlling polygamy in Utah, congress debated legislation in 1884 to plug the loopholes, which increased pressure on Mormons and led to arrests, trials, and imprisonments. President Taylor went into hiding on February 1, 1885. The very next day the Idaho legislature prohibited voting for Mormons who would not disavow polygamy. Around May that year the Church advised that to avoid arrest, polygamist men should live with just one of their wives.

Leah Ross Carter

You will recall that Sidney Rigdon Carter had married sisters on the same day, Peggy Ann and Leah Ross, like the biblical Jacob being required to marry the older sister to obtain the younger one. The Church's new policy put great pressure on the Carter family. As the first wife, Peggy Ann allegedly forced Sidney to live with her by threatening to turn him in to the authorities. But

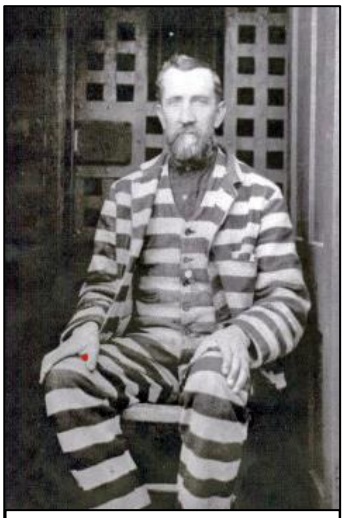
[396] DUP history by Suzanne N. Scruggs, Thomas Ross, *FamilySearch* memories for Margaret (Peggy) Ann Ross KWJD-754.

since he preferred Leah, he built his blacksmith's shop on her lot across the street. He would eat breakfast there and stay with Leah all day, only going to Peggy Ann's house at night. Understandably, the two women and their children did not get well.

Ella Parker Ogden[397] wrote:

> Oh, what perilous times these were for Peggy Ann. She had her children trained that at a certain sign they would pop under the beds out of sight. They scarcely breathed until any suspicious visitor left the place. She would talk in whispers to her children for fear loud tones would attract the attention of the marshals. She never got over this habit of whispering. Her grandchildren remember how she would talk in very low tones.

The ploy didn't fool the marshal, and Sidney was arrested for polygamy along with Thomas Ross Sr.[398] Sidney was sentenced to six months in prison and court costs. Leah was called into court on a charge of adultery. The case against Thomas Ross was dropped.[399]



Sydney in prison 1888

Adelia Cooley

On advice of "men of Church authority," Thomas Ross' other son-in-law, Joseph Parker, took a second wife. He married 15-year-old Adelia Cooley on June 11, 1889, in the Endowment House four months before Wilford Woodruff ordered it to be dismantled, and he kept her at her sister's house in Emery County until she was pregnant with her second child. Joseph was sentenced to four months imprisonment for polygamy December 5, 1893, more than three years after the Manifesto. He directed the Sunday school in the penitentiary.

It is not clear how long Margaret Ross's family lived in Cove. She could have lived there until the polygamy persecution had abated around 1891, and at least for the five years it took for Thomas to "prove up" the homestead claim that he had filed. It is known that she was living in Joseph in 1898 when Thomas Ross died, after which she sold her house and moved to Coyote to live with her daughter.

[397] Granddaughter of Thomas and Rachel Ross through Mary Elizabeth.
[398] *Deseret News*, August 4, 1888, page 3.
[399] *Salt Lake Herald*, September 23, 1888, page 1.

Ross home in Joseph

Chapter Eleven – Nancy Jane Ross and Albert McMullin

Estella Jane, Albert O., and Bryant McMullin

Soon after Albert and Nancy returned to Heber they had a second son, Bryant Ross McMullin, on January 24, 1874. Albert contracted to haul logs to a mill at Parley's Park.[400] He had seven yoke of oxen, a string of mules, and from one to three men working for him. The logs that Albert hauled may have supported the nearby silver mines.

After that, he did well in farming and raising cattle in shares with George M. Giles[401] and William Bethers and bought a threshing machine. Like Albert, George and Billy were freighters. Billy's sister Nancy was married to Nancy Ross' cousin, Ephraim Smith, who lived on Daniels Creek fairly close to the McMullin farm. Ephraim was also a freight driver and had worked on the railroad, so he and Albert had a lot in common. Albert sold his share of the threshing machine in the fall to Andrew Luke.[402]

Around June 1874 Albert's parents, Henry and Mary McMullin, who still had three children at home,[403] adopted a three-year-old Swiss boy named Humbert Presset. Humbert was the 12th child of Louis and Henrietta Mueller Presset in Switzerland. His mother died after the birth of her last child around the time that his father and an older brother joined the Mormon Church. Humbert and two older brothers were brought to America by LDS missionaries, and all three boys were adopted by families in Heber and Midway where a lot of other Swiss people lived. The McMullin family called him "Bert," and Mary raised him to adulthood.[404]

Albert's younger brother, Henry Lufkin McMullin, married Janett Osborn Murdoch in the Endowment House on December 6, 1875. Albert lent them his new wagon, and they made the traveled two days each way with a party of young people just as Albert and Nancy had done seven years earlier. Accompanying them were Janett and Henry's unmarried teenage sisters, both named Sarah, and two

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[400] The first mill in Parley's Park was built by Samuel Comstock Snyder in 1850 on Spring Creek in the southwest section of Parley's Park. It was a sawmill, gristmill, and turning and lathing mill at a stop on the overland stagecoach routes where Snyderville now is.

[401] George M. Giles, a cousin to the prominent early Heber settler William Giles, lived on Main Street in Heber City and his homestead was just west of town.

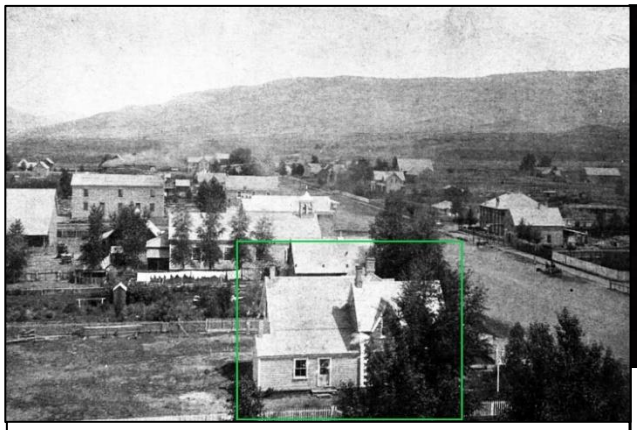
[402] Andrew Luke's father, Henry Luke, had died in Heber seven years earlier when Andrew was only seven. Andrew was not quite 15 years old when he bought Albert's share of the thresher but was probably already the breadwinner for his mother and five siblings. Andrew's grandfather, William Luke, was one of the four men from Manti who were massacred by Indians at Uintah Springs, the "fountain" of Fountain Green in October of 1853 while they were on their way to conference and to pick up William's three sons who had just arrived from England. Andrew Luke would later buy the hot springs in Midway for $600 and turn them into the resort Lukes Hot Pots.

[403] Henry Lufkin McMullin was 21 and would marry the next year. Sarah Jane was 17, and Mary Susan was 16.

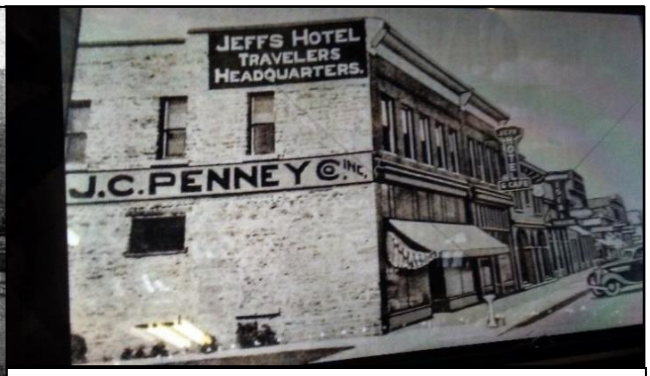
[404] He changed his surname back from McMullin to Presset and joined his father and two brothers in Woodside, Utah, between Price and Green River. He married and lived in Sunnyside.

unmarried male friends, 19-year-old William Horner[405] and 26-year-old Noah Mayoh.[406] Another friend named Andrew Lindsay and his young fiancé Sarah Jane Thompson went in another wagon.[407]

When they returned, Henry L. and Janett moved in with his parents, who were building their third house,[408] the two-story brick home that became Heber's first hotel with seven rooms to rent. Henry (senior) also ran the first official post office[409] in Heber out of the hotel, and theater troupes stayed there. It became known as the "McMullin House." When the hotel was finished, the old home was moved onto the southwest corner of the same block for Henry L. and Janett to live in. After the birth of Janett's fourth child on April 18, 1884, they replaced it with a four room home, which still stands across the street north of the social Hall.



McMullin House photograph 1882.



1940s photograph of The McMullin House on the NW corner of 100 N. and Main. J.C. Penney sold it, and it is now (2024) owned by NAPA auto parts.

Nancy and Albert's fourth child, Rachel Arletta McMullin, was born on Christmas Eve 1876. Now they had two boys and two girls and were probably living on the farm at Meeks Bottoms. The homestead there had been "proved up" the previous June.

In June 1877, John and Joseph Cummings, brothers of William and Isaac, were struck in Center Creek Canyon by lightning. Joseph was killed and John was severely injured.[410] Their sister Melinda, the former wife of Andrew Ross, was living at the time in Provo with her second husband, Jacob Baum.

The next month Albert McMullin set out for the newly dedicated temple in St. George with a horse team and wagon in the company of 18-year-old Lizzie Bell, who according to her daughter Susan Bell

[405] William Horner had been blinded in a gun accident while working at a sawmill and later married Amanda Jane Smith, a cousin to Nancy Jane Ross.
[406] Noah was in the Martin handcart company in 1856 and had been living in Heber since 1864.
[407] Andrew was a 22-year-old immigrant from Scotland who had come with his parents to America at the age of nine on the John J. Boyd, sailing with the family of my great grandmother, Sarah Oakey. Sarah Jane Thompson, who was born in Provo before moving to Heber, would be turning 17 two weeks later. The couple settled at Center Creek.
[408] All three of Henry's houses were built on the same lot on the corner of First South and Main Street.
[409] Major John W. Witt had previously run an unofficial post office and hotel out of his house.
[410] *Deseret Evening News*, Page 2.

McMullin, had been voted the sweetest girl in Wasatch County and could have had her choice of all the young men in Heber City.[411] His first wife Nancy wrote that during one of his visits to Heber, Brigham Young had quizzed Albert about when he was going to take a second wife. Albert smiled and replied that he already had his eye on someone.[412]

Elizabeth Bell was called Bessie when small, and then "Lizzie," or "Aunt Lizzie" by Nancy's children. She was born in Salt Lake City on September 15, 1858, to Jane Graham, a widow with a two-year-old daughter, who had lost her first husband and her other two children while immigrating from Scotland two years earlier. Soon after Jane's arrival in Salt Lake City, she was sealed "for time only" as a second wife to William Bell, whose first wife was childless. Bell was an Englishman who had arrived two years earlier than Jane and worked as a cabinet maker for Brigham Young. When Lizzie was born, the Bell family was living in one of Brigham Young's houses on what is now A street, where William ran the woodworking shop that sculpted the famous bird on the Eagle Gate. Lizzie was brought up as a member of Brigham Young's family, schooled in his house with his children by their tutor, Karl G. Maeser. She played with his children and went up to the President along with his own children for his evening greetings. In 1869 when Lizzie was 11, Brigham called her father on a mission to Heber City to build cabinets, although Bell listed himself there as a "farmer" in the 1870 census. William Bell's first wife was not in that census, probably still living in their house in the Salt Lake 20th Ward, where he and both wives were living in 1880. Given his profession as a cabinet maker, William Bell certainly would have known Henry McMullin. William continued to work for Brigham Young even while living in Heber and was also the official doorkeeper for the Territorial Legislature, so he made frequent trips to Salt Lake City. Apparently he sometimes took his daughter Lizzie with him, for she was said to have worked as a housemaid to affluent Salt Lake families as a teenager. She had two younger brothers and an older sister named Ann,[413] who was frail and afflicted with coughing.

While Albert and Lizzie were underway to St. George for their wedding, Henry McMullin was called to serve on the High Council of the newly formed Heber Stake. On that same day, the Center Creek Branch was reorganized into a ward which included the 15 families from Center Creek, six from Daniels Creek, and three from Lake Creek under Bishop Benjamin Cluff, an older brother of Joseph Cluff, one of the original settlers.[414] Lake Creek had developed as a community about two miles north of Center Creek and three miles east of Heber.

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[411] Susan Bell McMullin, A Sketch of Elizabeth Furgeson Bell's Life, *FamilySearch* memories, KW8Q-4NV.

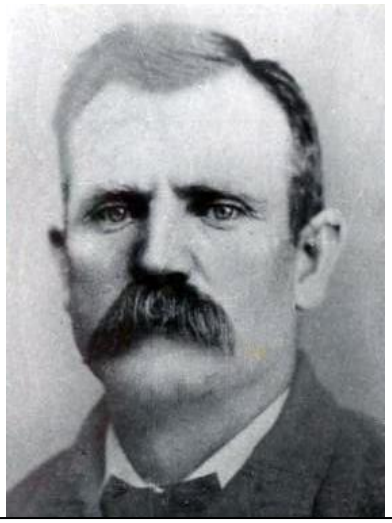
[412] In telling this story, Nancy may have had an ax to grind, but the story was not at all out of keeping with Brigham Young's behavior. He was continually pressuring worthy Mormon men into polygamy and preaching it from the pulpit. Consider what Brigham said on a visit to Paris, Idaho on August 31, 1873: "Now, where a man in this Church says, 'I don't want but one wife, I will live my religion with one,' he will perhaps be saved in the celestial kingdom; but when he gets there he will not find himself in possession of any wife at all…and he will remain single forever and ever." (Journal of Discourses, Volume 16, discourse 22, 160-171.) Only a week before Albert and Lizzie left for St. George, the Apostle Joseph F. Smith had said publicly: "I understand the law of celestial marriage to mean that every man in this Church, who has the ability to obey and practice it in righteousness and will not, shall be damned. I say I understand it to mean this and nothing less, and I testify in the name of Jesus that it does mean that." (Journal of Discourses, Vol. 29, p. 31.)

[413] Ann had died in Heber two years before Lizzie married Albert, most likely of tuberculosis.

[414] Andrew Jenson, p. 126.

The marriage of Albert McMullin and Lizzie Bell took place on July 25th. Nancy mentioned the event laconically in her brief autobiography, "…My husband took another wife, Elizabeth Bell; this was not easy for me." Her brief comment spoke volumes.

Lizzie



Albert

Nancy

Albert and Lizzy stayed long enough for Albert to do some temple work, being baptized as proxy for his brother, Calvin, who had died at the age of eight in Vinalhaven, Maine, and also for John T. D. McCalister[415] and for his uncle, Frost Pierce, "who had died as a member of the Church in Maine." [416]

Lizzie and Albert arrived home in Heber from St. George on August 7, 1877, three weeks before Brigham Young's death.

Nancy's fifth child, Mary Elizabeth, was born on January 20, 1878, and Lizzie's first baby Jenny[417] was born May 26, both in Heber. I suspect that Lizzie was living with her parents at the time.

The next year Albert continued farming at Meeks Bottoms. He bought a steam-driven sawmill in partnership with his brother Henry, Jonathan Sharp,[418] and Charles Hundsman. Nancy's sixth child,

[415] I could not find a person of that name. There was a John A. McCallister in Knox, Maine, the correct county, but he was still alive in 1877.

[416] This information is in Albert's autobiography, so it probably came directly from him. However, his uncle Frost Hudson Pierce was still alive. Perhaps he meant his great-uncle, Frost Hudson, the brother of his Grandmother Pierce. But that Uncle Frost died August 16, 1855, in Massachusetts, not in Maine, and I could find no evidence that he had ever joined the Mormon Church.

[417] Her full name was Jane Ann, but everyone called her Jenny and so will I.

[418] Jonathan Sharp Jr. married in Yorkshire and immediately immigrated with his parents' family in September 1869, the last group before the railroad was completed to Utah. Although his parents were Mormons, Jonathan Jr. never joined the Church, although he joined the RLDS group in Heber near the end of 1874. He had been a steamship engineer in England and ran a sawmill east of Heber, probably the one he bought with Albert. By this time, he had lived in Heber for 10 years. Four of his six children died in a diphtheria outbreak between October and December of 1879. His wife had twins in the middle of the epidemic, both of whom also died during the next 18 months.

Florence Lucinda, was born in Heber on January 22, 1879, and Lizzie's Nellie Bell was born that year on December 31st.

By the time of the census in June 1880, Albert, Nancy, and their six children including four month old Florence were living next door to Lizzie's father William Bell and both of his wives. The Bells had allowed Albert to build a house for Nancy on their lot. Lizzy was living in her parents' home with little Jennie and her infant Nellie, now five months old. They were in house numbers 56 and 55, and Henry McMullin was in 160, so they did not live close to Albert's parents. About this time, Albert bought his partners out of the steam-driven sawmill that they had bought together: "We ran it for a year, and then I bought them all out." He sold it sometime in 1882.

On October 18, 1880, Nancy's three-year-old, Rachel Arletta McMullin, died on October 19, 1880, in Heber. Two more McMullin children were born in 1882. Elmer was born to Nancy, and Mary Lucille was born three months later to Lizzie in April.

Rachel Arletta (L) and Mary Elizabeth McMullin

By 1883 Nancy's two oldest boys were old enough to drive teams; Bert was twelve and Bryant was ten. That year Bryant went to Deer Valley near Park City with his father to drive a few head of beef steers, riding alongside his father on a little mule. When Bryant started home alone, he ran into a man he knew named Ephraim Hans, who took him on a reckless wagon ride with the mule tied alongside.

Bert wrote that at the age of twelve he broke his leg when he was run over by a wagon when the brake gave way on a dugway as he was hauling wood out of Lake Canyon with Bryant and his Uncle Henry. Sometimes the boys were away from home and school for a week at a time freighting.

In the fall of 1884 Nancy moved with her children to Provo to attend school while Albert was off freighting. Ground had been broken for a new Brigham Young Academy building, the old one, which was built in 1876 on land which Brigham Young had deeded for the purpose, having burned to the ground the previous year.

Meanwhile, Lizzie gave birth to William Bell McMullin in Heber, her only boy out of eight children. The following spring Lizzie and her children moved from Heber to the farm at Meeks Bottoms. They spent two or three summers there but moved back to Grandma Bell's house for winter, where their bishop, Henry Clegg, taught a private school. The parents paid him by the term—there were no free public schools at the time. There was a fireplace in the schoolhouse, and people close to it were too hot and the others too cold. The seats were built to hold two children, but often held three. All the grades were together in one room.

Jennie recalled that her father Albert went to Price to haul freight when she was seven. On those trips Albert would stay a few days with Nancy's cousin James Jackson Ross (Melvin's son) at Fort Duchesne,

and then go back to Price to be near the railroad.[419] When the Denver and Rio Grande railroad station was built in Price in 1883, the character of Price changed dramatically. A ward meetinghouse was built, and Price was quickly transformed from an isolated farming community to the commercial hub of Castle Valley. The railroad also opened up the nearby coal mines, which brought thousands of foreign-born, non-Mormon immigrants to work the mines.

Henry McMullin died on May 5, 1886, at the age of 71, but Mary Pierce McMullin continued to run the hotel in Heber. She and her father, Josiah Pierce, belonged to the first church choir and she was second counselor in the Relief Society for five years.

Mary Pierce McMullin

The next winter Albert McMullin attempted a difficult trip carrying rock salt to the Green River with his son Bryant, who was then twelve. Albert drove a four horse team on a double bedded wagon, and young Bryant followed with a single bed wagon drawn by a pair of mules. They were overtaken by an early snowstorm in Daniel's Canyon and laid over at a sawmill until the feed was exhausted, and they had to return. On the next attempt they only made it to Strawberry Valley before the metal tire of the small wagon broke.[420] The following spring two Englishmen who owned a store in Green River hired them to haul freight from Price back to Green River. They typically drove two six-horse teams. Albert and his sons followed the freighting business for thirteen years, developing the best outfits in the country.

Nancy's tenth child, Lenore, was born in Provo on August 28, 1886. Six weeks later Lizzie's fifth child, Elizabeth, was born in Heber. Later that year Albert bought two city lots from Bishop Frandsen and moved both wives and their fourteen children to Price.

There were nearly 200 imprisonments in Utah during 1887 for unlawful cohabitation and more in Idaho. The government took possession of the Church's offices and properties. President Taylor died in exile. Polygamists like Albert needed to be careful.

In June Lizzie's little daughter Elizabeth died of measles at the age of 21 months.[421]

About that time Bert began a career with his father freighting to Fort Duchesne, hauling supplies by team and wagon from the railroad station in Price to the U.S. Government Post at Fort Duchesne via Nine Mile Canyon.[422] The freight route was about 120 miles. Albert and his sons would take supplies

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[419] Before Emery County was founded in 1880, Price was in Sanpete County. It was first settled in 1877 by trappers from Salem followed by a few Mormon men from Mount Pleasant in 1879. The first branch of the LDS Church was formed of 15 scattered families in 1881 headed by George Downard, who was followed by George Frandsen of Mount Pleasant who was called to Price to be the bishop on November 20, 1882. (Andrew Jensen).

[420] There's a long story about the rest of this trip in Bryant's memories in *FamilySearch*.

[421] Her headstone says 1886. This is incorrect—it doesn't match Jennie's story. There is an extra [nonexistent] child in the *FamilySearch* pedigree that caused that error.

[422] Nine Mile Canyon Road was constructed in 1886 to connect the Ute Reservation at Ft. Duchesne to the railroad that passed through Price. It was built by the Ninth Regiment of "Buffalo Soldiers" out of Fort Riley, Nebraska, one of four African American regiments created in 1866 to serve on the American frontier. The term Buffalo Soldiers was invented by the plains Indians because the soldiers' black, kinky hair reminded them of the hides of bison. The

from Price to the reservation and bring back gilsonite[423] to the railway in Price, loaded both ways, and they ran year round when they could.

In 1888 there were more arrests and imprisonments for "unlawful cohabitation" in Utah than in any previous year. That summer Albert camped in Nine Mile Canyon on his return from Fort Duchesne to Price. According to the story, he was cooking his dinner when a U.S. Marshall drove up in a buggy to ask if he knew the S.O.B. polygamist named Al McMullin. Albert said he did, but that it was too late in the day to catch him and invited the man to unhitch his team and spend the night. The next day the marshal continued on to Fort Duchesne, and Albert went straight to Lizzie's house, packed her and her children up, and moved them to Huntington, 22 miles south of Price.

Lizzie's daughter Jennie wrote:

> When I was ten years old a U.S. marshal scare sent us to Huntington for a few months. Father came riding in one day in July to the yard shortly after Sister Bessie had died with measles. He said we were moving to Huntington, which we did…. When we got there, a two-roomed house or granary was cleaned and called home. He returned to Price to continue his trip on the freight road. He had left his teams and loaded wagons for Joe Bunts [sic] (to unload),[424] while he came home and moved Mother and her four little children away, where they would be secure.

Jennie McMullin

Here is Albert's terse version:

> On account of the great polygamous persecution, I moved my wife (Lizzie) to Huntington…, then I moved her back to Heber City to live with her folks. At that time the persecutions were so bad it was not safe for me to live with her for a while.

Susan Bell McMullin was born on August 11, 1888, while Lizzie's family was hiding in Huntington. Jennie recalled her mother Lizzie handing a note to the stage driver when her labor began, and that evening Albert came down from Price.

Nine Mile Canyon Road supplied stagecoach, mail, freight, and telegraph service to the Uintah Basin until the arrival of the Uintah Railway around 1905. It was not paved until 2014. Due to approximately 1,000 rock art sites in the canyon with more than 10,000 individual images, hundreds of pit-houses, rock shelter, and granaries from the ancient Fremont culture dated AD 950-250, Nine Mile Canyon was named on the National Trust for Historic Preservation's list of America's Most Endangered Places. In 2009, 63 sites in the canyon were added to the National Register of Historic Places, with another 164 added in 2012 and 101 in 2014, and the BLM has announced plans to nominate some 600 more in years to come. (Wikipedia)

[423] Gilsonite is a naturally occurring, solid, black, lightweight organic material that originates from the solidification of petroleum. It has many uses including making asphalt, roofing materials, paints, and drilling mud. The dull, black appearance of weathered gilsonite resembles coal, but the surface of freshly broken gilsonite is shiny and resembles obsidian. It is unique to the Uintah Basin. The first regular shipments of gilsonite began in 1888, from veins in the western part of the gilsonite field. The name "gilsonite" comes from Samuel Gilson, one of its early promoters. The scientific name for gilsonite is "Uintahite." https://geology.utah.gov/map-pub/survey-notes/gilsonite-an-unusual-utah-resource

[424] Joseph Bunce was born in Manti and lived in Sterling until moving to Price around 1887, probably for work opportunities. At the time of this story Joe was 22 years old, married with two boys under two.

Example of a spring wagon

On September 17, 1888, Albert and Nancy set out in his spring wagon with their four youngest girls to visit her family in Joseph. This was likely the same wagon that Albert had lent to his brother Henry for his wedding trip. Albert and Nancy probably drove south through Huntington and Ferron, and then west through Salina Canyon and Richfield. In general, a horse can travel about 20-30 miles per day, which means that the trip would have taken five or six days.

While Albert and Nancy were on the road, seven of the nine children of Thomas W. Ross, Nancy's younger brother, became sick with diphtheria in Joseph.

Although diphtheria was described in the 5th Century B.C. by Hippocrates and probably caused some of the great plagues, especially in 17th century Europe, it was rare in Utah until 1874 when on April 1st, this news story came out of Willard, Utah.

> A terrific disease has started among young children here…. It bids defiance to all remedies. It grasps the throat and inflames it to such an extent in a very short time, that breathing becomes a death struggle…and ends in death sometimes two or three days after the appearance of the first symptoms."[425]

Another news story followed in November reporting 50 deaths from diphtheria during one week in New York City. And it was spreading in Utah. A physician in Logan reported 125 cases that winter. From then on, sporadic outbreaks were reported in West Jordan, Alpine, Montpelier, and many other towns, and the newspapers were full of advertisements for remedies. It is impossible to accurately estimate infection and disease rates for those times, but Utah newspaper reports might be a good proxy. There were 49 articles mentioning diphtheria in the 1860s, 1,012 in the 1870s, and 6,270 in the 1880s.

When a family had diphtheria, the streets were roped off around homes where the disease had struck. Clothing and furnishings were burned. There was no such thing as antitoxin or immunization at this time and anyone contracting the disease seemed doomed. Remedies included Dr. Miner's Wizard Oil and a questionable cure-all called Pain Paint. One home-brewed medicine made of sage, vinegar, alum, and honey was called Fanny Powell Cropper's Remedy. Cayenne pepper in vinegar was inhaled in the steam from a teapot. Pioneers also used hot liquid drinks and gargles, turpentine mixed with milk, and rubbed the neck with goose grease or frog legs. The only medicine available to many pioneers was whiskey, both for prevention and cure. Probably the best remedy was swallowing ice chips, since it did no harm.[426]

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[425] *The Daily Ogden Junction*, page 3.

[426] Diphtheria is the "D" in the DPT vaccinations we all received as children, which stands for the germ *corynebacterium diphtheriae*. As recently as the 1920s it was killing tens of thousands of people each year in America, although the Nobel prize had been given in 1901 for a long-awaited cure. The disease practically disappeared when universal mandatory immunization was finally implemented. There have been no cases of diphtheria in the United States since 2004 although it is still a threat in some third world countries. In 1878 diphtheria killed Maria, the four-year-old granddaughter of Queen Victoria, and a month later her mother, Princess Alice, died after catching it from Maria. It is the worst imaginable sore throat with massive swelling of the lymph

Allowing for an incubation period, the McMullins probably arrived around the time that Nancy's three-year-old nephew, Andrew Ross, died in Joseph on September 24th, followed three days later by his 15 month old brother, Hugh, sad and frightening news to greet the McMullins. Whisky was the only medicine that they had, so the family was trying to keep their children drunk all the time.

The diphtheria outbreak in Joseph was reported on September 28th in a Salt Lake newspaper.[427] They reported (lacking current information) that there had been 33 cases and one death, and that steps were being taken to institute a quarantine. On October 7th the *Ogden Standard* reported on the front page that children in Joseph were still suffering the epidemic.

That morning Nancy and Albert's nine-year-old daughter Florence died at her grandparents' home, followed by two-year-old Lenore the same evening. Albert wrote, "We made a coffin for the two together. They were buried without much of a funeral. Then Clara, twin to Chloe, four years and seven months old, died next day."[428]

A week later, Walter Wells died. He was a two-year-old great grandson of Thomas and Rachel Ross through their daughter Leah Carter.

On October 17th it was reported that the diphtheria in Joseph was decreasing, but 40 new cases were reported on the 21st. A week later it was reported that there had been 12 deaths in the previous three weeks with three "dangerous cases" still pending.

In his autobiography Albert wrote: "We were held under quarantine for two weeks (after Clara's death), then we started home with one little girl. It was very sad to meet the family and see three seats vacant at the table. Of course, we had to get over it."

Albert and Nancy McMullin arrived home in Price around October 28th, possibly having visited Lizzie's family in Huntington on the way. The loss was especially hard "to get over" for their son Elmer, who was only six, who was said to have suffered a long period of depression. Four-year-old Chloe had to deal with survivor's guilt and the loss of a twin. Mary was ten. Rachel was twelve. Bryant was fourteen. Bert was seventeen. Lizzie's children would also have been affected, being so close in age to their half-sisters. These were Jennie, age ten, Nellie, age eight, Mary, six, and William, four. Susan was only four months old.

In December Lizzie and her children returned to Heber to live with their grandmother Bell, who had been widowed two years earlier. There Lizzie supported herself and the children by tailoring, dressmaking, and making buckskin gloves. Her daughter Susan later wrote "Father got to come and see

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nodes in the neck accompanied by a thick infected membrane on the surface of the mouth, tongue, throat and voice box that impedes swallowing and breathing, especially in young children, whose passages are already narrower. Since it is passed by close contact via coughing or touching, it rages through families, often killing multiple members. (Ladd R. Cropper, Early History of Millard county and its Latter-day Saint Settlers, 1851-1912.)

[427] *Salt Lake Herald*, page 5.

[428] The girls' shared headstone reads October 1, 1888. This date also appears in their pedigree in *FamilySearch.* Their family Bible also gives October 1. The Joseph Cemetery Inventory erroneously gives Lenore's death date as January 10, 1888. But Albert and Nancy both gave the date as October 7th in their autobiographies.

us so seldom, I couldn't tell my father from Al Murdock. They were both tall, straight, broad shoulders, and brown mustache, and lots of dark hair and both were called Al."[429]

Ella Parker, a granddaughter of Thomas and Nancy Ross, survived the epidemic in Joseph as a five year old. As an adult she wrote:

> Thirty children were taken in six weeks, many of the grandchildren, and (the Ross) home seemed to be the place where many were taken from stricken homes. I was one, with Anna (twelve), Amy (nine), and Stella (seven), when our little baby brother, James (two) contracted the dread disease. I was the next to get it after he passed away (on Oct 30th) shortly before his father's return from his mission.

Twelve more deaths were reported by Salt Lake newspapers on November 7th in southwest Sevier County, the town Joseph experiencing the worst. It was "almost wholly quarantined from the outside world."

Dr. Parlan McFarlane of Manti[430] was reached by telegraph and appointed to take charge of the situation in Joseph. The main road went through the town, and people were barred from entering or leaving until a temporary lift of the quarantine allowed them to go through, but not to stop. A week later the epidemic was declared to be on the wane, but there was more to come, and the quarantine was soon reinstated.

In January of 1889 all of Hulda's family got diphtheria, and all four of her children died: Ellen, age two, Elbert, nearly eight, Huldah Elizabeth, three, and Lyman, almost six. Mary Leavitt Nebeker, a later daughter of Hulda's, wrote:

James Elbert & Hulda Jane Parker Leavitt, Dec. 1878

> They did everything possible to save them. Mr. McFarlian (sic) called it meningitis or diphtheria croup. Mother never got over this, even to the day she passed away. She has told me so many times about it. How just their little dog was left. But somehow she pulled Papa through the diphtheria and herself.

Hulda's husband James Leavitt wrote,

> Our children were exposed to diphtheria. Dr. McFarlane came. There was help from town, Martha Carter, and Oscar Anderson came and stayed right there. Jim Wells, George Charlesworth, and George Farnsworth also came. Our four little children died with diphtheria in five days… All

[429] Murdock was the son of Bishop Joseph Stacy Murdock. Like Albert McMullin, he freighted supplies to Ft. Duchesne and returned with gilsonite.

[430] Dr. Parlan McFarlane was born in Scotland, where he joined the Mormon Church. He was trained in architecture in London, immigrated in 1847 and was an early settler in Sanpete County. He helped design the old Ephraim Tabernacle and practiced medicine in Ephraim, where he also served as mayor for 14 years and two years as judge. At the time of the diphtheria crisis, he was 59 years old and serving as mayor of Ephraim.

were buried at night; two the same night. Hulda and I had it, and they thought we would die, too. Maybe we didn't care much.[431]

Hulda added, "All I could do was raise up in bed and see them carry my babies' caskets pass the window. And so it went, few families not being touched one way or another."

Near the end of January 1889 Robert Francis Ross and his wife Mary Eveline lost one of their four remaining children, eight-year-old William Francis (two others had died young before that), but their two month old infant daughter survived.

Conditions became worse, and by the middle of March Dr. McFarlane was dismissed on the charge of negligence, and Dr. Christian Madsen of Salina was appointed to replace him. When the epidemic finally subsided in April, the town sexton who was in charge of burials reported that 41 children had died from the diphtheria epidemic.[432] Twelve of these were grandchildren or great grandchildren of Thomas and Rachel Ross.

In 1889 Albert paid $1,000 to buy "the best team in the country" for his oldest son Bert, who was then 18. The outfit consisted of two wagons and six horses who were driven with a jerk line. A jerk line is a 120-foot long single rein fastened to the brake handle, which ran through the driver's hand to the bit of the lead animal. A steady pull meant to go left, and a quick jerk meant right. There was a continuous chain that ran underneath the wagons all the way to the lead horse.[433]

An example of a jerk line outfit

The church house in Wellington

Thomas Nelson McMullin was born on June 6, 1889, in Price, Nancy's eleventh child. She was 40.

About a year later, Heber J. Grant ordained Albert McMullin to be Bishop over a new ward about six miles down the Price River in Wellington when its branch was reorganized.[434] Albert and Nancy's house was across the street from the meetinghouse. After Albert was

[431] Mary A. Carter Fry, Parker/Rosso Memoirs, 1965, pp. 114.121.
[432] Warnock, Through the Years, Sevier county centennial history p. 202.
[433] Photo courtesy of the Montana State Library.
[434] Wellington was settled in 1879. Jefferson Tidwell was named Branch President in 1884 and a meeting house was built the next year. (Andrew Jenson, Encyclopedic History of the Church, p. 934)

called to serve as Bishop, his sons Bert and Bryant stepped up and drove two six-horse teams on the freight road constantly.

Nancy's twelfth child, Lucy, was born in Wellington on December 15, 1892. Nancy was 44. Her last child, LeRoy McMullin was born January 15, 1893.

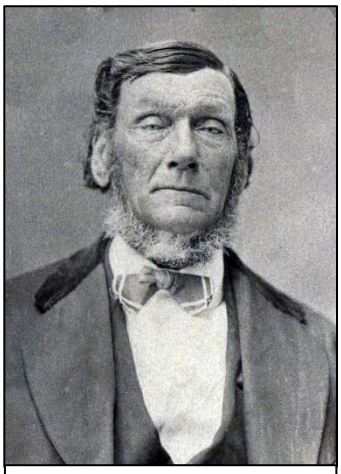
In the winter Albert cut ice from the Price River for the whole town. According to his son Roy,

> (Albert had a) tremendous, big saw with large teeth that gouged the ice. They'd dig a hole in one spot and then they'd get this big blade in there, and they'd soon have the ice cut into squares. They'd grab hold of it with ice tongs and heave it onto a wagon. In the ice house these blocks were stacked in tiers, and then we'd pile sawdust around the ice (of sawdust we had a good supply) which kept it from melting. Albert always had his team and tall wagons in the fourth of July parades. The boys would get painted up like Indians and carry some sort of a gun.[435]

Bert (Albert O.) McMullin married Barbara Ann Bryner at a New Years Eve dance ushering in the year 1894 and then drove to Salt Lake City with two other couples to be married in the temple. His father gave him a team, and he got a job at a saw mill working with Albert in nearby Mud Creek Canyon, but Bert and Annie moved to Price in the fall, where the McMullins' freighting operation was based. Ten months later they had their first child Glenn there but moved back to Wellington in 1895 where their girls Flavo and Rela were born in a one room log house.

Mary Pierce McMullin died on October 30, 1895 at the age of 76. Her burial was delayed until November 2nd to allow Albert to get there. According to her obituary she died of typhoid-pneumonia lasting five days. She had run the Heber House alone since the death of Henry, giving employment to many young, homeless, and unemployed people. Of her seven children, only three were left: Albert, Aphonzo, and Henry Lufkin, who was on a mission in Iowa.

John and Rachel Cummings, two of the original Gibson County pioneers also died that year in Heber. Rachel died March 9th at the home of her daughter Sarah, who had taken care of her parents for three years. John was deaf and Rachel was disabled by a stroke. John died six months later at the age of 93, the oldest resident of Wasatch County, known to everyone as "Pap."



John Cummings

Lizzie and her children lived at her parents' home in Heber until her mother died in late 1897, and then they moved to Wellington. Albert built a house for them on the same block as Nancy's house. There was a corral between the houses to hold livestock. Like Nancy's sons, Lizzie's son William became a teamster at the age of 12, although some said he did it reluctantly. According to his daughter, Elizabeth McMullin Hickman,

> He was expected to do the work of a man, his older half-brothers already clearly into the family business. In spite of many bosses, Willie soon learned to harness his team, standing on the wagon tongue. His father was a most

[435] Gail McMullin, Short Biography of LeRoy McMullin, *FamilySearch,* KWCN-6JX.

> patient man and a very good teacher. Willie never worked as a partner in the family freight business but as the son of a good father. By the time he was nineteen years old and thinking about getting married, he owned his own freight hauling outfit—a good wagon and horses—and was working for himself.[436]

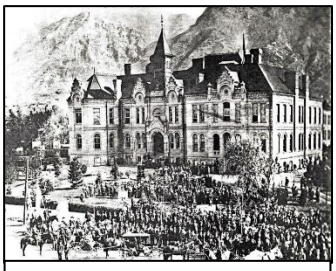
Nancy's son Elmer began freighting in 1896 when he was fourteen. As Albert had done for years, he drove a freight team of four horses and two wagons from Price to the reservation at Vernal and brought back gilsonite.

Remembering Wellington at that time, Lizzie's daughter Susan wrote, "There were a church and a school house and a little one horse store, with the post office in one corner. The mail carrier hung the mail sack on a high crane and the mail clerk on the train caught it with a tong hook as the train went by."

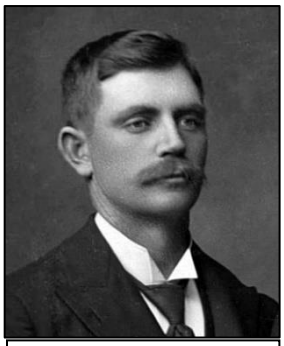
It was shortly after their arrival in Wellington that Lizzie's breast cancer was discovered.

Utah became a state on January 4, 1896. That year Richard Smith, one Heber's Gibson pioneers died in Provo while visiting his son on March 18th. He requested to be buried next to his wife Diana in Heber, who had died the previous year, so his coffin was carried by his sons over snowslides back to Heber.

Bryant had been earning wages while driving his father's freight wagons, but in October he bought his own team and added it to a nice span of gray horses and a new wagon that Albert gave him for his 21st birthday. In 1897 he went to Provo to attend school at the Brigham Young Academy for 20 weeks. On Christmas Day he married Laurie Dell Hill in Wellington. She had a baby in August, and it turned out that she had been made pregnant by another man before their marriage. They split up, and she kept the baby, Raymond Ross McMullin Donant.



B.Y. Academy
Founders Day 1900

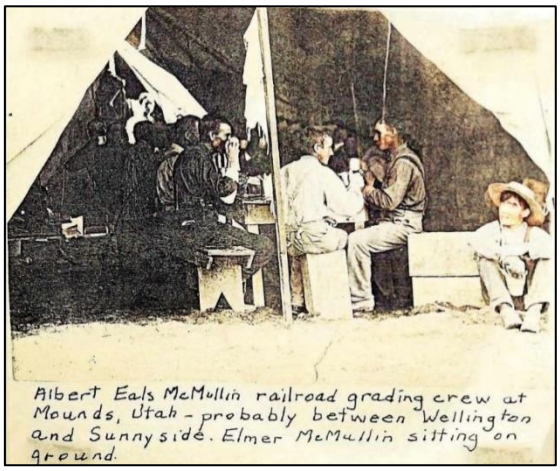


Bert's mission photo

On February 24, 1898, Albert and Nancy's older son Bert was called on a mission to the Southern States. He left Salt Lake City on April 20th, leaving his young wife Annie and their three children with her parents in Price. His daughter Rela recalled, "He sold his freight wagon, his team of eight horses, harnesses, and his home in Wellington and moved my mother, my brother Glen, and my sister Flavo, and me to Price, Carbon County, into my grandfather and grandmother Bryner's honey house, a small two room building next to the big rock Bryner home."[437]

During Bert's mission his "Aunty" Lizzie had two more daughters in Wellington--Althora and Ruby, born in 1898 and 1900.

[436] Elizabeth McMullin Hickman, William Bell McMullin History, p. 2., *FamilySearch* KWC2-QYP.
[437] Rela McMullin Bateman Beckstead Autobiography Through 1935, FamilySearch memories KWCZ-6KD.


Albert Eals McMullin railroad grading crew at Mounds, Utah - probably between Wellington and Sunnyside. Elmer McMullin sitting on ground.

The summer of 1899 Bryant, Elmer, and their father Albert found work grading a railway from Price to the mine in Sunnyside. According to Bryant, during the fall he and his father took a short prospecting trip with George Ipson,[438] but they did not find their fortunes and resumed freighting. Bryant mined at Sunnyside until August 1900, when he was called on a mission to the Southwestern States Mission[439] in Kansas, Oklahoma, and Arkansas and left September 6th.

Before the census on June 8, 1900, Bert was home from his mission, living with Annie and their three children in Price next to Annie's parents, but soon moved his family to Sunnyside to work in the mine. The development of branch railroads had by this time significantly dried up the freight business for him and also for Albert.

Lizzie's last child, Ruby Bell McMullin was born in Wellington on October 15, 1900.

Eugene E. Branch was named bishop to succeed Albert McMullin in 1901. Susan wrote: "Father was released as bishop and our homes were sold. Mother (Lizzie) moved to Price for about three years."[440] Albert didn't like working underground at the coal mine in Sunnyside and the dairy business didn't "pay out," so he went to Colorado and worked on the railroad and returned in the fall. Nancy and Albert's nineteen-year-old son Elmer had polio that year and was sick for four months. He never completely recovered, crippled in one leg.

After working three years at the mine in Sunnyside, Bert came home one day on a stretcher after being crushed in a mine accident in which two men were killed. Annie convinced him to move the family back to Price in 1903, where Bert began freighting again.

Bryant had been home from his mission about nine months when he took a railway trip to Alberta, Canada in the fall of 1903, where he filed a claim at Taber before returning on the train in time for General Conference. It had been possible to make the entire trip from Salt Lake City to Lethbridge by rail since 1890. By 1903 there were 5,500 Mormons in Alberta and two LDS stakes.

Alberta had been on the minds of many Mormons since 1887, when President John Taylor sent Charles Ora Card to set up a Mormon colony beyond the reach of polygamy persecution. Card, the Stake President of the Cache Stake, led a group of 12 families to settle along Lee's Creek (later to be named Cardston) on the border of the Blood Indian reservation. After obtaining permission from the Canadian

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[438] George Ipson was a 42 year old, born in Manti to Danish converts who had been in the 1856 handcart company and then were called to the Muddy Mission from Manti. From here they took part in the Hole-in-the-Rock trek to Bluff when he was 23. Finding his prospects there poor, George became one of the early settlers of Huntington, where he built up a nursery business. He was a dreamer, did a lot of unsuccessful prospecting, and invented a station indicator for trains which he took to Washington, D.C., but died of a heart attack in Huntington while chopping wood in 1908 before his patent was approved.

[439] Before 1898 this was the Indian Territory Mission.

[440] It was actually four years.

government in Ottawa[441] they began to claim land. During the tough economic times in Utah during the 1890's, Alberta became attractive even for the Mormons who did not practice polygamy, especially after 1902 when Raymond Knight, heir of the mining mogul Jesse Knight, set up a sugar factory and irrigation canals were constructed.

The following January Bryant married Martha Minerva Ellis in Salt Lake City and in returned to Canada in March with his younger brothers Elmer and Tom. Nancy and nine-year-old Roy followed in April, traveling with her 51-year-old brother Thomas William Ross, who already had a ranch in Alberta at Terrill's Lake. Albert didn't go to with them to Canada as planned, due to Lizzie's progressing breast cancer.

Bryant and Minnie McMullin

Nancy and Elmer camped on their claims, and Minerva, who had finished her teaching contract, joined them in May and lived in a tent beside "sister N. J. McMullin's little cabin." When Nancy learned that Albert was not going to join them, she sold their horses, harnesses, and furniture and returned home the summer of 1904 with the three younger boys, leaving Bryant and Minerva, who spent the rest of their lives in Canada.

They joined Albert temporarily at the home of their oldest daughter Estella Ekins in Provo until he could rent a house for them at Lakeview, where Nancy and the boys raised sugar beets. Albert had a job hauling ore from the mines in Eureka to the railroad station. They moved to Eureka on March 4, 1905, the day that Teddy Roosevelt was sworn in for his second term.

Albert and Nancy's oldest son Bert and his wife Annie moved from Price to Green River in the fall after Helen, their seventh child, was born on August 7th. They had sold everything they owned to buy a farm right on the bank of the Green River, where Bert raised cattle and melons and served in the bishopric.

In November Lizzie's breast cancer worsened, and Albert moved her and her children back to Heber City, where she died on September 15, 1906, at the age of 48. Albert, who was freighting at the time, barely made it back to see her alive. Despite the hard times and the distance that often separated them, they had a solid relationship. Once when asked how she had been able to cope with polygamy, Lizzy said: "I'd rather be the second wife of Albert McMullin than the first wife of any other man I know."[442] Albert took the two youngest girls, Althora, age eight, and Ruby, age five to live with him and Nancy.

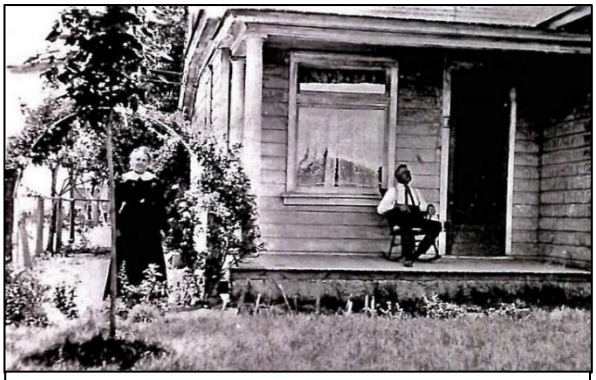
[441] He had to strike a deal that polygamists could settle in Canada provided they only brought one of their wives.
[442] Shiela S. Larsen, The Vindication of Elizabeth Bell, in Lizzie's memories in *FamilySearch* KWJZ-HB6.

Bert and Annie sold their farm in Green River during the spring of 1907 for a good price and moved to South Jordan, where Bert bought the Garside home, the prettiest one in town. In August, the family took a train to visit Albert and Nancy at Eureka. According to Bert's daughter Rela, he promised his parents a building lot and help in building a house so they could settle down near their children in their declining years. But Albert and his family stayed in Eureka until the "job gave out" when the mine stopped operating. Then he sold most of his outfit, and they moved with Tom and Roy to Gold Circle, Nevada, about 50 miles north of Battle Mountain, where Albert hauled supplies to the mines. They lived there about two years, but missing the Mormon culture, they sold out and took the train to South Jordan.

Bert's South Jordan home with his daughters Helen and Blanche

Albert O. McMullin

There they took Bert up on his promise and built a house with irrigation rights on thirteen acres of his property. They lived on Albert's $12 per month veteran's pay from the Black Hawk War, and Nancy embroidered temple aprons. She also made 600 pairs of buckskin gloves and according to the family stories.[443]



Nancy and Albert at home

Elmer married Ethel Jensen in Salt Lake on December 14, 1910. They lived in Murray for three years and then moved to Lark to work in the mines. In October 1914 the mine closed, and they returned to their farm.

Albert died at his home in South Jordan during the great influenza epidemic on December 2, 1918. He was buried at Heber. The family didn't have much of a funeral and had to wear masks.[444] He died after an operation for an acute abscess of his lung, a complication of influenza.

[443] According to one family story, Albert and Nancy raised Lizzy's two youngest girls to maturity, but that is probably not entirely true. At the time of the 1910 census when the girls were twelve and nine, they were living with their married sister Jennie Hill in Sunnyside. And when she was 19, Ruby was living with the family of her sister Lucille Van Tromp in Bingham Canyon.

[444] History of Nancy Jane Ross KWNR-PBD, her memories in *FamilySearch*.

Lizzie's daughter Jennie wrote this about her grandfather.

> Some of the third generation have asked how grandfather could live in two homes. He was a just man who tried to treat both wives and all the children as nearly alike as he could…. One day grandfather would be at home at Auntie's house and spend the evening there if ward business did not call him away. When bedtime came, he would go to Grandmother's house and stay until the next night. Of course, the first thing in the morning, he would go to the other house to see if all was well. If there was sickness in either house, he stayed there until it was over. He was kind and affectionate with his families. Mother never saw him whip a single one of his 20 children, and never knew of one of them disobeying him.

Nancy visited her relatives in Canada in 1921 and 1926.

Albert's brother Alphonzo Pierce McMullin died at the age of 74, three years before his wife Lucy Witt, on June 16, 1924, in Raymond, Alberta, where he had lived since 1901. They had arrived in 1902, where Alphonzo raised sugar beets on 10 acres of land. He had suffered from severe arthritis.

Nancy's son Elmer lived nearby in South Jordan and looked after her. In 1931 when she became too feeble to live alone she sold the house to Bert's son Glen and lived a month at a time with each of her three sons who lived in Utah--Bert, Elmer, and Roy.

Albert's brother, Henry Lufkin McMullin, died at the age of 80 in Heber on December 20, 1932, from a malignant tumor of his face, which he had suffered for two years. Like Albert, he had farmed and done freighting work.[445]

Nancy Jane Ross McMullin

Nancy was formal and strait-laced, which sometimes made it hard on the family members who took care of her. Bert's daughter Rela had this say.

"When I was a little girl my grandmother McMullin told me this, 'Rela, I don't think you will ever amount to much. You are too much like your mother.' That was a terrible thing to tell a little girl just starting out in life. It told me two things: she was criticizing her daughter-in-law, and she had no use for me. I don't think she had a granddaughter who tried as hard as I did to prove her wrong, or to succeed as a good mother and wife."

Rela's bother DeLoy remembered that when he was very young, he walked by where Grandma was sitting. She whapped him on the shoulder and said, "Stand straight boy!"[446]

[445] He had filled a mission to the Northern States when their youngest child was a year,old and a six months' mission in 1897 for the YMMIA to Wasatch and Sanpete Counties. He and Jannett had been married 56 years, and she lived 17 years longer as a widow, dying at the age of 92.

[446] Quoted by his son Douglas McMullin, Nancy's memories in *FamilySearch*.

Her son Elmer wrote:

> "(Mother) was not an easy person to live with and her temper sometimes taxed the endurance of her daughters-in-law. But let be said to their credit that they never demonstrated anything but love and patience, which is another way of saying that we are all appreciative of Aunts Annie, Ethel, and Margaret."

Beth Johnson, daughter of Bryant McMullin, gave a more generous perspective:

> In 1936 my sister Fern visited Grandmother in her own home. She would not allow Fern to assist her up or down stairs, even though she was 88 years of age. (Nancy was about six weeks short of 88 when she died.) She seemed almost fiercely independent. Furthermore, her spicy tongue made short work of any attempt by children to call her Grandma or Granny. No, indeed! Grandmother she was to be called- -no abbreviations please! Nancy Jane was a regal, proud woman to the day of her death. She was strict in living the Gospel of Jesus Christ and seemed to expect a great deal from her children in this regard.
>
> A younger son claims that he was not taught love for the Church, but it was always his "duty" and he got mighty tired of doing the dutiful thing. Grandmother was the most beautiful, queenly, elderly lady that I had ever seen. Her white hair was indeed a crown of glory.[447]

Nancy spent most of her time with Bert and Annie until the spring of 1934 when Bert's health failed. Then she moved in with her daughter Estella Jane Ekins in Provo. When Jane passed away about six months later, Nancy moved in with her youngest son, Roy, in Midvale, where she celebrated her 86th birthday with a large group of her descendants present. At that time, she wrote: "My health is not as good as it used to be. I have been passing my time reading and sewing quilts. I have made many to be proud of."

She died October 31, 1936, at the home of Bert and Annie in South Jordan and was buried at Heber beside Albert.

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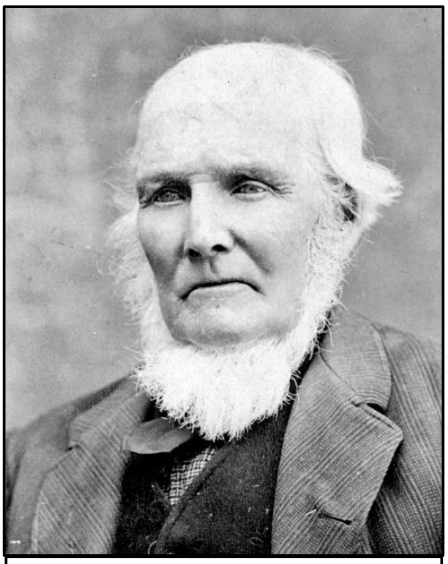
[447] Beth Johnson, The McMullin Story, p. 34.

Epilogue – The Ross Family



Thomas Ross

Thomas Ross was nearly blind when he died in Joseph at the age of 84 on October 12, 1898, one week after Lorenzo Snow was sustained in General Conference as President of the Church. The 24th Infantry had just returned to Salt Lake City from Cuba, where they had fought in the Spanish American War. The new tabernacle in Richfield, which was nearing completion, had been destroyed by fire two days earlier.

Thomas' granddaughter, Ella Ogden described him as follows.

"Thomas Ross was a large, strong, stalwart man with high and rare judgment. His motto was, 'Be sure you are right, then go ahead.' He was very kind-hearted but firm in his beliefs, a good, understanding father and a most wonderful grandfather and an excellent provider."[448]

In the year 1900, Thomas and Rachel Ross' son-in-law, Joseph F. Parker, became bishop of the Joseph Ward, where he served for a decade.

Rachel Smith Ross

Rachel Smith Ross died that December at the age of 87. Her daughter Margaret Carter had been living in her home to take care of her. Rachel's granddaughter, Ella Parker Ogden, was with Rachel when she died. Ella wrote:

> When she saw me she motioned for me to come around on the opposite side and sit on the bed by her. In a little while she said, "Ella, let me lay on your arm." I was very happy to do this. I think she just wanted to feel someone close by. In a little while she called each one to come to her. She said, "I want to kiss you all goodbye. This she did, spoke a few words to each of us, talked a little of grandfather, who must have been close by, then raising her hand with a slight gesture she said, "God bless you all, and now I am not afraid to die." With a smile and that gentle wave of her hand she left us, the beautiful passing of a very lovely lady.

In March 1901 Rachel's son Thomas William and his boys John 26, Aaron 10, and Robert 18 arrived in Canada with the herd they had driven. His wife Margaret Ann Harvey Ross, John's wife Nora and her 18 month old daughter Hazel followed in June by train. They had claimed a homestead six miles north of Brunton Siding, later to become Warner. After a second season in Canada in 1903, Margaret Ann became ill and returned to Joseph. She felt she had been spared to be with her daughters. They nursed her for three months, and she passed away on March 31, 1903.

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[448] Ella P. Ogden, Thomas Ross and Rachel Smith, *FamilySearch* memories, MB1L-SMT.

Margaret Mecham Ross

Thomas Ross' second wife, Margaret Mecham Ross moved to Coyote (now Antimony) around 1907 to be with her children. According to her granddaughter, she bought a comfortable little home there. She was very independent and insisted on doing for herself right up to the last, when at the age of 68 she died of "stomach trouble" of six days' duration. Her granddaughter Margaret Angie Ross Buchanan wrote:

I have always felt that Grandma was a rather neglected second wife. She was 26 years younger than Grandfather and it didn't seem they were too companionable. The first wife Rachel was more Thomas' own age. It was she who was with him through the bitter hardships in Nauvoo and braved the trials of crossing the plains, and who helped him get established in this new frontier. I imagine it was hard on her to have to share her husband with another woman. If she was jealous of Grandma at times and perhaps mistreated her, it certainly could be understandable. Early in February 1909 Grandmother Margaret was taken very ill and passed away Feb. 9, 1909. Her children and many of her grandchildren were there, and I remember well the heart-breaking sobs of her children. She was prepared for burial and taken to Joseph at Uncle Lewis' home. The next day services were held in the ward meeting house, and then she was put beside her husband in the family plot.... Margaret was a very dignified lady, quiet and reserved. Everyone loved her sweet gentle ways. She left a large posterity to revere her memory.[449]

Mary Elizabeth Ross

Mary Elizabeth Ross Parker died later that year in Joseph at the age of 64 while her husband was still the bishop there. She had been in bed for 10 weeks with "stomach trouble" without visiting a doctor. Her youngest child, Alta, was 18.

According to the 1910 census, Sidney Carter's rival sister wives, Peggy Ann and Leah, were living with him in the same household, apparently finally reconciled. Sidney died November 19, 1912, and Leah died four weeks later at the age of 70 unattended by a physician, presumably having died of "Bright's disease" (now known as kidney failure). Peggy Ann moved to Provo to live with her daughter Rachel, who had married John William Smith, grandson of Richard Smith, but after a few years Peggy Ann felt lonely for her old friends and the familiar surroundings of her home town and returned to Joseph sometime before 1920, where she lived with her granddaughter Flora and Flora's husband James Shaw. There she died at the age of 81 of kidney failure in 1921.

Peggy Ann Ross

[449] Margaret Angie Ross et al, Margaret Maria Mecham (Ross) Grandmother of Maude King, *FamilySearch* memories KWNV-GKM, p. 4.

Andrew, Lavina, and Nora

James Andrew Ross and his Danish wife Nora ran a dry goods store in Joseph and farmed. Their niece Lavina Anderson lived with them and worked in the store. Lavina was the daughter of Nora's brother Oscar, whose wife died in 1894 leaving seven children, and the Rosses began raising Lavina from the age of two. "Uncle Andrew," as his many nieces and nephews called him, died on September 26, 1917, in Joseph, but was buried in Kanosh next to the grave of his former wife, Sarah Ann Smith.[450] He was 81 and had just returned from visiting his brother Thomas in Canada. In Andrew's obituary he was described as a prosperous cattleman. He had been a county commissioner, a member of the Joseph town council, and Vice President of the Richfield Commercial and Savings Bank since its organization. One of his funeral speakers was Joseph Parker, his brother-in-law and former bishop. Andrew was president of the Sevier Valley Canal company and the Otter Creek Reservoir Company. His home in Joseph was described as the nicest in town, its furnishings elaborate, huge black leather chairs and sofa, a beautiful black walnut piano, Brussels carpet, and all other furnishings to correspond. He owned a large, galvanized tin bathtub, the first in town. His long stairway banister was made of bird's eye maple, as was all the wood work in the parlor and dining room, and he had the finest black team and buggy in the county.

James Andrew's younger brother Thomas, whom he had visited in Canada, died of a stroke in Salt Lake City on January 25, 1919, at the age of 68. His body was returned to Joseph for burial.

Robert Francis Ross, the youngest child of Thomas and Leah Ross, died in Joseph on October 18, 1940, at the age of 86. He had been actively engaged in agriculture, especially pure breed livestock raising and had served as mayor and councilman in Joseph.

[450] At the age of 65, Andrew Ross' widow Nora married Caleb Hoopes.

Appendix

Interview questions used during the Reformation of 1856-57.

Do you and your family attend Ward meetings?

Do you labor six days and rest, or go to the house of worship on the seventh?

Do you oppress the hireling in his wages?

Do you pay your tithing promptly?

Do you preside over your household as a servant of God, and is your family subject to you?

Do you speak against your brethren, or against any principle taught us in the Bible, Book of Mormon, Book of Doctrine and covenants, Revelations given through Joseph Smith the Prophet and the Presidency of the Church as now organized?

Do you teach your family the gospel of salvation?

Do you wash your body and have your family do so as often as health and cleanliness require and circumstances will permit?

Have you been intoxicated with strong drink?

Have you betrayed your brethren or sisters in anything?

Have you borne false witness against your neighbor?

Have you borrowed anything that you have not returned, or paid for?

Have you branded an animal that you did not know to be your own?

Have you committed adultery, by having any connection with a woman that was not your wife, or a man that was not your husband?

Have you committed murder, by shedding innocent blood, or consenting thereto?

Have you coveted anything not your own?

Have you cut hay where you had no right to, or turned your animals into another person's grain or field, without his knowledge and consent?

Have you found lost property and not returned it to the owner, or used all diligence to do so?

Have you fulfilled your promises in paying your debt without prospect for paying?

Have you labored diligently and earned faithfully the wages paid you by your employers?

Have you lied about or maliciously misrepresented any person or thing?

Have you taken and made use of property not your own without the consent of the owner?

Have you taken another's horse or mule from the range and rode it, without the owner's consent?

Have you taken the name of the Deity in Vain?

Have you taken up and converted any stray animal to your own use, or in any manner appropriated one in your benefit, without accounting therefore to the proper authorities?

Have you taken water to irrigate with, when it belonged to another person at the time you used it?

In answer to the above questions, let all men and women confess to the persons they have injured and make restitution, and satisfaction. And when catechizing the people, the Bishop, teachers, Missionaries and other officers in the church are not at liberty to pry into sins that are between a person and his or her God, but let such persons confess to the proper authority, that the adversary may not have an opportunity to take advantage of human weaknesses, and thereby destroy souls.